TL750

cannot be too late. This is our big chance." Indonesia's main competition in making use of the U.S. GSP was Thailand, the Philippines, and Malaysia. (PB)

FEB. 27 (Sat.)

In Lisbon, Sharon Behn interviewed recently arrived refugee from East Timor, Reinaldo dos Santos, 50. "They threatened us, warned us not to talk once we got out," he said, his blind eyes reaching for the rest of his family. "After 12 years of oppression, this is the first time I can sleep without fear. The Indonesian army takes people out of their houses at night, you know. People just disappear. When my sons didn't come home from school on time, I was always scared they had been arrested." Students have been a thorn in Indonesia's side. In Dili, they recently plastered buildings with anti-Indonesia pamphlets and graffiti. "They spray-painted the walls with 'Timor is our land' and 'We want freedom and independence,'" smiled Reinaldo. "It was the first time anything like that had ever happened. We were all very happy about it, but knew there would be reprisals. Two students were taken in for questioning." In another cold Lisbon flat, Angela Goncalves, held a small black-and-white photograph of her dead 18 year old daughter. "My daughter was tortured. Electric shocks. Her hands and face were burned with cigarette ends. Then they killed her. They never told me so, they just gave me her prison papers and photograph. I used to visit her in jail. The Indonesians didn't care that I saw her like that. They considered her guilty of collaborating against them. It was true, she belonged to Fretilin. My husband went mad when she first disappeared. He went screaming down the streets, so they threw him in jail, too, and beat him up. He's never recovered." (PN)

FEB. 28 (SUN.) - Barbara Crossette reported that many Indonesians believe President Soeharto plans to form his new Cabinet "with minimal consultation and little warning to those involved." The timing of General Moerdani's replacement was a surprise to him. Moerdani is believed to be concerned about the widening gap between government leaders and young Indonesians who want a bigger role in political life. "He is also reported to have warned Mr. Suharto about corruption within the President's family." Before the 1987 elections, Gen. Moerdani gave some support to PDI. An acquaintance said that when some PDI rallies turned into pro-Soekarno demonstrations, "Benny got blamed." There are still those who do not rule out a civilian job for him. A former officer said, "Benny may still come back—even as Defense Minister. But it will be a new Benny, and on the President's terms." Even bitter critics of President Soeharto seem to find no fault with Gen. Soetrisno. "However, a persistent question raised about General Sutrisno is whether the President favors his protege for his ability to relate to young Indonesians less respectful than their elders of the military, or for his compliant personality." (NY)

Reporters spoke to Gen. Try Soetrisno after his installation by President Soeharto. Are you ready if you are given greater duties than now? "Hold it now, nothing too heavy. I'm already loaded. Let's not talk about this now. I've just been installed, I'm about to pass out. Don't anticipate the Almighty." When reporters expressed their hopes that ABRI not do too much "telephoning" (press term for a ban on carrying a story about an event), Try replied spontaneously, "I have never telephoned." But he hoped for press understanding if there were calls from ABRI for "coordination." "Don't take it to heart. We are one family." (JW)

PDI General Chairman Soeryadi said he considered the criteria for the Vice Presidency put forward by Soeharto in his capacity as Chairman of Golkar's Guidance Board to be very good. "A nomination system left up fully to the factions in the MPR constitutes a forward step." PDI will consult with Pak Harto about the Presidency and Vice Presidency in his capacity as Soeharto, someone PDI has nominated for the Presidency. Soeryadi said it was too early to reveal PDI's choice for Vice President. (JW)

FEB. 29 (MON.) - In a brief transfer of office ceremony at ABRI Headquarters, Gen. Try Soetrisno promised to preserve the values embodied in Pancasila and the 1945

Constitution and to hold high the Seven Pledges and the Soldier's Oath. He thanked outgoing ABRI Commander Gen. Moerdani for his guidance and prayed that Pak Benny and his wife would receive an abundance of mercy from the One Almighty God. Gen. Moerdani then turned 45 degrees and for the first time in his life saluted Gen. Soetrisno. Murmurs were heard from the guests witnessing this historical moment. In the front row could be seen Simatupang, Soemitro, Widodo, and Panggabean (not Jusuf or Nasution). (PB)

Reporters later went to Try Soetrisno's home in South Jakarta only to find it empty save for his adjutant Captain Gatot. There was "no selamatan or anything like that" to celebrate his appointment. Try and his wife had gone to ABRI Headquarters to watch a wayang performance specially staged for him. Perhaps not by chance, it was the story of Gatotkaca who was made leader of the kingdom of Pringgondani by the people themselves. (JW)

Asked by reporters if PPP would nominate Sudharmono as Vice President, Secretary General Mardinsyah replied, "PPP has its own candidate." He would not confirm it was Naro. Meanwhile, members of the MPR Golkar, ABRI, and Regional Representatives factions met and decided on a nominee for Vice President. Golkar faction Secretary Akbar Tanjung said an announcement would be made soon. (KO)

The East Kalimantan DPR has conveyed the names of Acting Governor H.M. Ardansyah S.H., Assistant Governor I Adi Soengkono, and Universitas Mulawarman lecturer Yunus to the Interior Department as its nominees to replace Col. (Ret.) H. Soewandi. Soewandi is now in a hospital in the U.S. He is not yet well enough to return to Indonesia. (JW)

About 67% of the land in South and Central Kalimantan has been allotted to timber concessionnaires. (KO)

Health Minister Suwardjono installed Drs. Slamet Susilo as Director General for Food and Drug Control replacing Dr. Midian Sirait. Interior Minister Soepardjo installed Drs. H. Alimuddin Simanjuntak as the first Deputy Governor in the history of North Sumatera. (PB)

FEB. 29 (Mon)

Indonesia has lost in an attempt to have Jusuf Wanandi (Lim Bian Kie) elected a member of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the group of experts which serves the U.N. Human Rights Commission. He received 10 votes in first round balloting, 8 in the second, and 1 in the third. His alternate would have been Juwono Sudarsono. (Bian Kie has cultivated largely conservative establishment connections in the U.S. The biodata submitted for this U.N. appointment reveals he holds the following posts, among others: Member, Research Council, Pacific Forum, Honolulu. Member, Board of Research Consultants, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Cambridge. Member, Advisory Council, Asian Studies Center, The Heritage Foundation, Washington. Member, Board of Governors, East-West Center, Honolulu. Member, Editorial Board, **Asian Survey,** Berkeley. Member, International Council, The Asia Society, New York. Besides supervising access of foreigners to East Timor, he also once used information gained by chance on one of his frequent trips to the U.S. to block at the last moment the entry of scholar Benedict Anderson into Indonesia after the relevant Indonesian government agencies had agreed to permit Anderson entry for a literary conference. In an international incident, Anderson was not allowed to disembark at the airport.) (TA)

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The political parties and Golkar extend to the village level. The PPP proposals defeated in Commission B involved amendments to the MPR rules of order and changes in a resolution on the duties and responsibilities of the President in safeguarding national development and making it successful. The faction wished MPR meetings to be open to the public, separation of the MPR and DPR leaderships, and a separate faction for "group" MPR members. The faction wanted to add the words "and the 1945 Constitution" after the phrase "national development is the implementation of Pancasila" in the development resolution. Ruth Youngblood filed on the voting. "President Suharto's ruling party crushed opposition demands Tuesday for greater democracy." (PB/JW/KO/UP)

The MPR PPP faction has turned over Naro's nomination dossier to MPR Chairman Kharis Suhud who in turn forwarded it to the MPR Secretariat. "We are not playing games," said MPR PPP faction Chairman Darussamin. The ABRI faction is the only other one so far to turn over a dossier. "I don't know if the ABRI faction's complete dossier includes one for a Vice President," said Kharis, "since it is only 'supporting' Sudharmono." Several members of the MPR have said there might yet be a third candidate for Vice President since the nomination deadline was March 10, 3 p.m. Kharis said the MPR leadership hoped there would be no voting on the Vice Presidency, but if there were no other way it would be done. He said this vote would be secret as distinct from any vote on the GBHN. Naro's dossier includes the required nomination papers, names and signatures of the PPP faction, statement of loyalty to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, statement of not having engaged in criminal conduct, statement of non-involvement in the G30S/PKI, statement of good behavior, statement of citizenship, statement of literacy, and doctor's statement on health. "Till now," said Darussamin, "the public has seen the MPR as a rubber stamp. Voting for Vice President would open a new chapter in our nation's political history. "We hope the impression of the MPR being a rubber stamp will be dispelled." MPR Secretary General Wang Suwandhi briefed the MPR leadership on how voting would be conducted for the Vice Presidency. Naro himself held a press conference including the foreign press and often replied in "fluent" English. Are you going to withdraw? "What? Withdraw? We, my faction will not withdraw." What about voting for the Vice Presidency? "Yes, yes, why not." Do you have any secret weapon? "No, no, secret weapons only owned by ABRI." (Those parts in English.) Naro said he didn't believe the government would ask him to withdraw. He would meet with President Soeharto tomorrow along with the other MPR leaders. He didn't know if the Vice Presidency would be touched on then. Was his intent to satisfy party members? "No. It is for the entire nation, especially the young generation." You're not being guarded? "You reporters will guard me." (JW/KO)

PDI Chairman Soeryadi concurrently MPR Deputy Chairman gave assurances that PDI would not abstain in any vote on the Vice Presidency. Reacting to an appeal from a group called PDI Young Generation (Generasi Muda PDI), Soeryadi said he had never heard of them. The group issued a press release at the MPR/DPR building on Sunday stating that the image of the PDI faction had collapsed. The faction had been disappointing throughout the General Session. The 8 signatories to the statement also appealed that the present PDI leadership resign. (JW)

Logistics Board (Bulog) rice stocks at the beginning of March stood at just 800,000 tons, below the 1 million tons considered necessary. This situation was blocking Bulog from market operations to overcome high rice prices. Bulog planned to import rice, but this plan was turned down by the President. It had no option but to buy rice from farmers at higher prices. A source said adequate rice stocks for Bulog should actually be 1.4 million tons, not 1 million. (KO)

MARCH 8 (Tues.)

In a statement before the U.N. Human Rights Commission session which began February 1 and continues through March 11, Cristiano Costa explained he had escaped from East Timor in October 1987 and arrived in Macau at end-December 1987. He was 15 years old when Indonesian forces invaded in 1975. He saw the paratroopers torturing and executing Timorese in Baucau, his hometown, attacked 3 days after Dili.

"Faced with this climate of terror, I fled into the bush to the areas controlled by the Timorese resisters." He was captured in 1979 and detained in Baucau till 1980. In 1981 he was forced to take part in the "fence of legs" operation commanded by then Col. Sahala Rajagukguk. "During this operation, I saw Indonesian forces pitilessly and mercilessly massacre children, women, old, and infirm." In preparation for the 1982 election, the Indonesians imprisoned a large number of people from eastern East Timor, including himself. He was released after 3 months. In 1983, after the ceasefire (broke down), there was "another wave of massacres and imprisonments." He was re-arrested in Baucau in August 1983. "For 2 weeks in both Baucau and then Dili I suffered electric shocks, beatings, burns, and had my teeth broken." The name of the Indonesian in charge was Captain A. Haryanto. In September 1983 Cristiano was taken to the Comarca (District) prison. Some of his colleagues in Baucau "disappeared." "In the Comarca prison, Dili, we were not allowed visits from relatives. We were not given a normal diet and received no medical attention. Our conditions only improved on the eve of International Red Cross visits or visits to the prison by foreigners, but as soon as they left, the bad conditions continued." The Timorese non-political prisoners were in far better. health and were given more privileges. When Foreign Minister Mochtar and Governor Mario Carrascalao visited the prison on September 4, 1984, it was these common law prisoners who were filmed and interviewed. "Many political prisoners were made to sign false confessions which were then used to stage sham trials. Two Indonesian lawyers from Kupang were appointed by the court to defend them, but they had no contact with the prisoners. In fact, they worked closely with the prosecutor and the judge to produce gulty verdicts and sentences that had already been decided by the military. I myself and 49 others refused to sign these false confessions so we were never tried. On 27th April 1985 after 20 months in prison, those of us who had refused to take part in the trials were released." Once back in Baucau, he saw many people being arrested on August 17, 1987 in reprisals for attacks by the guerrillas. "These people were interrogated and tortured by Red Berets in the middle of the night in the Flamboyant Hotel, Baucau. The more highly suspect detainees were sent to Dili where they were kept in the Red Beret prisons." "May I beg you to take action to protect my family in East Timor from any reprisals by the Indonesians because of my appearance here." (OD/TA)

MARCH 9 (WED.) - The MPR leadership (Kharis Suhud, Naro, Soeryadi, Soekardi, Saiful Sulun, R. Soeprapto) met with President Soeharto in Istana Merdeka to undertake the direct aspect of its research on his candidacy for President. Cabinet Secretary Moerdiono was present. Kharis put the questions to citizen Soeharto. "**Q:** Saudara Soeharto, is it true that you have been contacted by the leadership of the factions in the MPR to be nominated as President of the Republic of Indonesia? **A:** It is true. I have been contacted. **Q:** Are you prepared to be nominated? **A:** God willing, I am prepared. **Q:** If you are elected President, are you prepared to carry out the MPR's GBHN and other resolutions? **A:** God willing, I am prepared. **Q:** For this purpose, are you prepared to take an oath according to the Islamic relgion to which you adhere? **A:** God willing, I am prepared. **Q:** Thank you. **A:** Thank you." Kharis returned immediately afterward to brief the press. The MPR leadership's direct and administrative research has been successful. "Soeharto fulfils the conditions for the Presidency set out in existing law." Reporters asked Naro if there were any "hidden intentions" in the meeting. "Of course, a lot." Would President Soeharto decide on one candidate on grounds he could not cooperate with the other? "One of the conditions for Vice President is being able to cooperate (with the President.) If the President says he can't cooperate, well, you can't do anything about it." (JW)

Former young PPP figure Ridwan Saidi told **Kompas** that Naro's seeking the Vice Presdiency was unrealistic and "not in accord with the political culture of the New Order." Ridwan believed Naro seriously wanted to be Vice President, but it would be best if he withdraw even though he had the right to be nominated. "It's impossible for Naro to become Vice President. He should be satisfied with being an MPR/DPR

Deputy Chairman." Ridwan revealed that in 1983, Naro, through (his then principal lieutenant) Soedardji, made a maneuver for the Vice Presidency. Soedardji announced he had the Vice President's name in his pocket. He then lobbied 3 Golkar figures who told him in Javanese style that if what he was offering for sale wouldn't sell, why try to sell it. This maneuver was generally known only among the Muslimin Indonesia (MI) group within PPP. PPP ultimately supported the nomination of Umar for Vice President. Ridwan didn't think Naro was after a Cabinet position. It was only in the Old Order that you could stage a large rally to get Soekarno's attention and he would then give you an executive appointment. "You can't play the bargaining game now." (KO)

Golkar Secretary General Sarwono told reporters that Golkar would respect the aspect of secrecy in election of a Vice President if voting occurred. "Golkar's attitude in facing a Vice Presidential election is relaxed (rileks). We are ready to face any possibility which occurs." Asked about the possibility of Golkar turncoats who didn't pick Sudharmono or who abstained, Sarwono said again, "We respect the secrecy of an election." There could be no organizational sanctions (against turncoats). "How could we find out?" ABRI MPR faction spokesman Maj. Gen. Soebiyakto said while secrecy in voting was guaranteed, he was sure no ABRI faction members would "derail" (keluar dari rel F-ABRI). (KO)

MPR PPP faction Chairman Darussamin told reporters that the faction's draft proposals which had failed in Commissions A and B would be brought before a plenary MPR meeting. PPP faction member Ali Tamin S.H. said the Commission A and B decisions did not constitute MPR decisions. There would have to be voting on the faction's draft proposals in the full MPR. (PB)

Head of the Sub-directorate for Public Guidance in the East Java Social and Political Affairs Directorate General (of the Interior Department) Tony Soenarto S.H. told **Jawa Pos** that the Marhaenist Youth Movement (GPM) and Indonesian Islamic High School Students (PII) in the province would be given the opportunity to conduct activities in so far as these involved bringing themselves into compliance with the Interior Minister's Decisions No. 120 and 121. "Other activities undertaken to revive (menumbuhkan kembali) these organizations suspended (dibekukan) by the government clearly will not be allowed." Once they register and make Pancasila their sole principle in their statutes in accord with the Social Organizations Law, they can carry out activities again. GPM in Surabaya is replacing its signboards reading Marhaenist Youth Foundation (YPM, Yayasan Pemuda Marhaen) with ones reading Autonomous Youth Foundation (YPM, Yayasan Pemuda Mandiri). Other GPM and PII branches in some (undisclosed) cities of East Java are removing their signboards. Tony praised these actions as displaying a quite high level of awareness and responsibility. (JW)

A group of non-OPEC oil producing countries met in London Wednesday to debate moves to halt plunging prices, while OPEC members considered similar talks. Oil prices have declined an average of about 20% over the past few weeks amid reports of production excesses amd price discounting by OPEC members. Indonesia has supported a call by Venezuela for an emergency OPEC meeting. (AP)

MARCH 9 (wed.)

Filing from Lisbon, Jill Jolliffe reported an interview with East Timorese refugee Betty Sarmento who told of the torture and rape of her teenaged sister, Maria Gorete Joaquim, who was imprisoned with her and later executed in a country churchyard. Sarmento was threatened but not beaten after her arrest in February 1977 (in Dili). She was allowed to see her sister who had been arrested a few days previously. "Maria Gorete had cigarette burns on her arms and chest and had had electric shocks applied to her neck, ear, and arms." Sarmento was released and visited her sister in her cell. Maria Gorete was crying. "In my absence she had been raped by the prison commander. She was 14 and a virgin and she had resisted." Joaquim was released in December 1977 under a general amnesty granted by President Soeharto. She went back to school and lived a fairly normal life except that she continued underground work for Fretilin. On March 11, 1979, she and her uncle were taken from their homes by Indonesian troops and transported to Baucau by helicopter and so entered

Amnesty International's list of "the disappeared." The Indonesian government denied any knowledge of the case. Only last year, when Joaquim's family reached Lisbon, was it discovered she had communicated with them from Baucau until her execution. The night before, she was permitted to write farewell letters. Timorese told her family that Joaquim was shot behind the church in the town of Qualicai. (GM)

CDPM reported a communication from East Timor which stated that to avoid funerals, Indonesian soldiers killed in action and buried in Dili are interred between midnight and 4 a.m. during which time people and vehicles are forbidden to use roads leading to the cemeteries. The same communication claimed that in the future no more East Timorese students would be sent to Jakarta by the Indonesian government. This move is an attempt to stop them from contacting the outside world. It is more difficult to keep a watch on them in Jakarta. The communication stated that East Timorese students at Universitas Atma Jaya (in Jakarta) are kept under close watch by teachers and Indonesian students. (Since it also contains skirmish reports, the communication appears to have come from a Fretilin source.) (CD)

During his official visit to the U.S., Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva stated during a live interview on Cable News Network (CNN) February 25 that Indonesian troops had killed thousands of people in East Timor since they occupied the territory. He asked why events in Timor are forgotten while there is no difference between the situation there and that of Afghanistan or Cambodia, countries over which international public opinion has mobilized. (DN/CD)

Indonesia has extended an invitation to the Assembly of the Republic of Portugal to send a parliamentary delegation to East Timor on an observer mission. The invitation was channelled through U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. Earlier, Portuguese MPs Fernando Gomes and Pedro Pinto were approached by Indonesian (DPR members) in an ASEAN-EEC parliamentarians' meeting to visit Indonesia, but without any guarantees they would be able to visit East Timor. Fernando Gomes predicted that Indonesia would be condemned by the European Parliament (EP). "We are counting on the EP and on international pressure to get Indonesia to change its attitude.) (DN/CD)

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the outcome. Westinghouse Electric (U.S.) joined forces with Mitsubishi (Japan), Framatome (France) with Kraftwerk Union (KWU, West Germany), and Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. with Marubeni Corp. and Hitachi Co. (Japan). All 3 proposals specify that the contractor will construct and operate the plant and sell the electricity to the State Electricity Company (PLN) for a pre-determined number of years, then turn the facility over to the government. Whether to go ahead is up to President Soeharto, who has already supported development of 3 nuclear research reactors. The newest ranks as the third largest neutron-producing facility in the world, after Grenoble in France and Brookhaven in the U.S. A nuclear power plant takes up to 10 years to build. "Maybe in 20 years, when we have more technical capability," said J.B. Sumarlin, National Development Planning Minister. (UP)

MARCH 14 (Mon.)

CDPM summarizes recent comments in the Portuguese press by Inacio de Moura, one of the more important witnesses to have escaped from East Timor. He was the last Portuguese colonial civil servant still there. He was Fretilin's press spokesman until the Indonesian invasion on December 7, 1975. He hid, but was captured within 3 days. "I was in front of a firing squad. They spared me, as well as others who had been condemned to die, because we were Europeans. The others who were with me eventually died of diseases contracted in prison. I was in prison for one year." He was always re-arrested whenever the Indonesian military suspected something might happen. "When foreigners or journalists went there, I would be taken in." In February 1983, while in Jakarta for a tumor operation, he asked, through the ICRC, to return to Portugal. "Afterwards, 4 individuals from Intel (generic colloquial term for military intelligence bodies) burst into the residence of the ICRC delegates and grabbed me. I was handcuffed and taken back to Timor." This prevented his being interviewed by Rui Araujo, head of the Radio Televisao Portuguesa team which had just completed a documentary on East Timor. "I vegetated for 10 years." Someone advised him to work to impress the Indonesians. He did. He was chosen to accompany Anacoreta Correia in 1986 and Nuno Rocha in 1987. After bribing some Indonesians for a passport, he got approval to visit his family in Australia. On December 22, 1987, he arrived in Darwin with just the clothes on his back. CDPM organized his trip to Europe. "Those people who gave themselves up to the Indonesian authorities when an amnesty was declared were mercilessly butchered." Whole villages were decimated. "Dozens of thousands of Timorese died of starvation and as a result of Indonesian bombing." "Many soldiers say, we come here to die while the generals back in Jakarta are living at our expense." "All foreigners' visits to the territory are well prepared by the Indonesian authorities." He was instructed not to reveal that many of the "civilians" seen by Anacoreta Correia were Indonesian soldiers in civilian clothes. If a Portuguese parliamentary delegation comes, the Indonesians "will do as they always do, hide their troops." During prison visits, the authorities keep the prisoners out of sight and "imprison" civil servants. The Dili prisons are not the only ones. He is convinced every military headquarters has its own prison and interrogation center under control of Intel. Mario Carrascalao as a human being is "a very good person. He has helped the poor considerably and does what he can. He does not collaborate in human rights violations and has already denounced, and managed to get transferred, some of the military who were committing abuses." "The cultural integration of young people is the occupier's great weapon. There is no freedom of expression, with no exceptions, and there is no freedom of association." Timorese do not leave their villages for fear of falling into the occupier's hands and being shot for collaborating with the guerrillas. "Starvation affects about 200,000 of the 600,000 Timorese who find themselves forced into eating grass, shrubs, and wild fruit." About 1,500 armed guerrillas are still active despite an Indonesian contingent of "at least 20,000 soldiers." "It is not just Fretilin which is resisting in Timor. It is all the Timorese." "Monsignor Ximenes Belo is an honest person and has denounced the atrocities. The Indonesians are anxious to expel him." Timor has to be "controlled temporarily by either Portugal or, as a last resort, by the U.N." If Portugal and the U.N. do not guarantee self-determination, the Maubere

(East Timorese) people will be condemned to wait for a revolution in Indonesia. (CD)

MARCH 15 (TUES.) - (Regime gadfly) Dr. Suhardiman told **Jawa Pos** that the duties which will be shouldered by the Fifth Development Cabinet would definitely be heavier than previous cabinets. This was because the coming Cabinet would accompany the Indonesian nation to the gateway of the "takeoff" to realize "a just and prosperous society." "So the term Bharata Yudha (Sanskrit, roughly, War Story) Cabinet is probably the right one." Suhardiman said he got the nickname from the Arjunawijaya (Sanskrit, roughly, Victorious Arjuna) statue recently unveiled by President Soeharto in front of the National Monument (Monas). Pak Harto thinks the symbol of Arjunawijaya is very relevant in our era of national development. Suhardiman identified Krishna (most widely venerated of the Hindu deities) with President Soeharto and his companion Arjuna (a heroic wayang figure, model of the whole man to many older Javanese) with Vice President Sudharmono. What is missing now are the 8 horses to pull the golden carriage safely to the "takeoff." "The 8 horses reflect elements in the coming Cabinet," he said. Four were there before, namely, the National Development Planning Board (Bappenas) technocrats (teknokrat), the Research and Technology/Board for Technology Studies and Application (Ristek/BPPT) technologists (teknolog), the bureaucrats in the Departments, and the military element in ABRI. The remaining 4, according to Suhardiman, are the elements which will raise the quality of the Cabinet in settling the problems it faces. First, there are the social leaders (tokoh masyarakat). Apart from bridging the interests of the society and government, they will reduce conflict between the two later on. Second, there are the politicians (politisi), those in the political parties and those outside them. Their task is as political architects able to provide a blueprint of the "takeoff" in line with the Broad Guidelines of State Policy (GBHN). There is no place for "political contractors" (pemborong politik). Third, there are the statesmen (negarawan), reliable cadre of the nation, who can find the most likely alternatives which will continue and perpetuate development. Fourth, there are the men of letters (pujangga) able to act vigilantly and prophetically so that problems can be solved in a rational, integrated manner. These 8 elements can carry the Mandatory and his deputy in the golden carriage to the "takeoff." (JW)

Golkar Secretary General Sarwono Kusumaatmadja and Deputy Secretary General of the PPP Central Leadership Council (DPP) told **Jawa Pos** that in the next MPR General Session a greater proportion of decisions would be taken through voting. Said Sarwono, "I think the experience of voting in the last MPR General Session was right. What we have to avoid is voting without working through the prior step of consultations to reach consensus." Husni Thamrin agreed. This "tough talker" considered voting to be more characteristic of democracy. Both Sarwono and Husni Thamrin considered that voting has already long colored Pancasila democracy. It was particularly seen at the middle and lower levels in the election of Governors, District Heads, and Village Heads. "What's more, the general election itself is voting." (JW)

Universitas Indonesia (UI) political scientist and MPR Golkar member Slamet Effendy Yusuf (General Chairman of Ansor Youth Movement) told **Kompas** separately that the MPR General Session held March 1-11 carried developments in the "nuances" (nuansa) of Pancasila democracy. These were evident in the emergence of criteria for Vice Presidential candidates, more than one Vice Presidential candidate, a Vice President elected from the leadership of the largest socio-political organization, and the openness in the general debates on the draft MPR resolutions. (Neither observer apparently was certain these would be precedents, "preseden." Their comments, like so many others these days, fall in the category of "talking up a loosening of the system.") (KO)

East Java Governor Wahono told **Jawa Pos** it was mere rumor that he would shoulder a new office in the center. He had no official indication of anything like that. "Really, I don't know." (JW)

The South Jakarta District Court sentenced Indonesian Islamic State (NII) figures

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INDONESIA NEWS SERVICE - NO. 90 - APRIL 9, 1988

KEY: AK - Akabri, ED - Editor, IN - Informasi, JW - Jawa Pos, KO - Kompas, PB - Suara Pembaruan, TE - Tempo, TV - Televisi Republik Indonesia

MARCH 22 (TUES.) - President Soeharto announced the composition of what he called the Fifth Development Cabinet over TVRI at 7:30 p.m. Monday night. The Cabinet comprises 38 Ministers, including 3 Ministers of State as Coordinating Ministers, 21 Ministers of State leading Departments, 8 Ministers of State handling specific fields, and 6 Ministers of State termed Junior Ministers. In addition, he announced 3 high officials whose positions have the rank of Ministers of State, namely, the ABRI Commander, the Attorney General, and the Governor of Bank Indonesia. (Although Junior Ministers rose from 5 to 6 and had their titles radically modified except for the Cabinet Secretary, the Cabinet remains at 41 in size. In the last Cabinet, the Chairman of the Auditors Board, retired Gen. M. Jusuf, was included in the Cabinet but did not have Ministerial rank.) (KO)

Ministers leading Departments: Interior, Gen. (Ret.) Rudini. Foreign Affairs, Ali Alatas S.H. Defense and Security, Gen. L.B. Moerdani. Justice, Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Ismail Saleh S.H. Information, Harmoko. Finance, Prof. Dr. J.B. Sumarlin. Trade, Dr. Arifin Siregar. Industry, Ir. Hartarto. Agriculture, Ir. Wardojo. Forestry, Ir. Hasjrul Harahap. Mining and Energy, Col. (Air Force) Ir. Drs. Ginandjar Kartasasmita. Public Works, Ir. Radinal Moochtar. Communications, Maj. Gen. (Ret.) Ir. Azwar Anas. Cooperatives, Maj. Gen. (Ret.) Bustanil Arifin S.H. Manpower, Cosmas Batubara. Transmigration, Lt. Gen. Soegiarto. Tourism, Posts, and Telecommunications, Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Soesilo Soedarman. Education and Culture, Prof. Dr. Fuad Hassan. Health, Dr. M. Adhyatma M.P.H. Religion, H. Munawir Sjadzali M.A. Social Affairs, Prof. Dr. Haryati Soebadio. **Coordinating Ministers:** Politics and Security (Polkam, including Interior, Foreign Affairs, Defense and Security, Justice, and Information), Admiral (Ret.) Sudomo. Economy, Finance, Industry, and Development Supervision (Ekuin, with "Development Supervision" added this time to the title, including Finance, Trade, Industry, Agriculture, Forestry, Mining and Energy, Public Works, Communications, Cooperatives, Manpower, Transmigration, and Tourism, Posts, and Telecommunications), Drs. Radius Prawiro. People's Welfare (Kesra, including Education and Culture, Health, Religion, and Social Affairs), Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Soepardjo Roestam. **Ministers handling specific fields:** State Secretary, Maj. Gen. Drs. Moerdiono. National Development Planning/Chairman of the National Development Planning Board (Bappenas), Prof. Dr. Saleh Afiff. Research and Technology/Chairman of the Board for the Study and Application of Technology (BPPT), Prof. Dr. Ing. B.J. Habibie. Population and Environment, Prof. Dr. Emil Salim. People's Housing, Ir. Siswono Yudohusodo. Youth and Sports, Ir. Akbar Tanjung. Effectiveness of the State Machinery, Ir. Sarwono Kusumaatmadja. Women's Role, Ny. A. Sulasikin Murpratomo. **Junior Ministers:** Cabinet Secretary, Drs. Saadillah Mursjid M.P.A. Finance, Drs. Nasrudin Sumintapura M.A. Trade, Dr. J. Soedrajad Djiwandono. Industry, Ir. Tunky Aribowo. Agriculture, Dr. Ir. Sjarifuddin Baharsjah. National Development Planning/Deputy Chairman of the National Development Planning Board, Prof. Dr. B.S. Muljana. **High state officials given positions with the rank of Minister:** Commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, Gen. Try Soetrisno. Attorney General, Naval Commander Sukarton Marmosudjono S.H. Governor of the Central Bank (Bank Indonesia), Prof. Dr. Adrianus Mooy. (We have supplied the military ranks and active-retired status. They do not appear in the official lists save in the case of the ABRI Commander. Thirteen of the 41 Cabinet members are military, 10 from the Army. In an easily available precise comparison, 8 of the 21 Departmental Ministers in early 1986 were military. This figure remains unchanged. Two of the 3 Coordinating Ministers remain military. Military Ministers handling specific fields dropped from 2 to 1, with the pivotal State Secretary remaining military. Military Junior Ministers dropped from 2 to 0. Overall, the Cabinet per se, as opposed to the higher central democracy more generally, is now 32% military as compared to 39% in early 1986.) (KO)

There are 9 Ministers from the last Cabinet who still hold their old positions: Ismail Saleh, Harmoko, Hartarto, Bustanil Arifin, Fuad Hassan, Munawir Sjadzali, B.J. Habibie, Emil Salim, A. Sulasikin Murpratomo. (In his speech, Soeharto says 10. **Kompas** reports 10, but prints only 9. We see only 9. Perhaps they are counting Try Soetrisno. Of the 21 Departmental Ministers, only the first 6 just named retained their jobs, a key statistic. For the total Cabinet of 41, just 9 kept their old jobs. The press did not stress these figures nor the truly colossal personnel shakeup it constitutes, especially by Soeharto's late New Order standards.) (KO)

There are 12 Ministers who still sit in the Cabinet but have had their duties shifted: Moerdani, J.B. Sumarlin, Arifin Siregar, Wardoyo, Hasjrul Harahap, Ginandjar Kartasasmita, Cosmas Batubara, Sudomo, Radius Prawiro, Soepardjo Roestam, Moerdiono, Saleh Afiff. (Soeharto in his speech says 9. **Kompas** reports 9 but left out Moerdani, Moerdiono, and Saleh Afiff. In all but Moerdani and Soepardjo's cases, these shifts could reasonably be construed as "promotions.") (KO)

There are 20 new faces in the Cabinet: Rudini, Ali Alatas, Radinal Moochtar, Azwar Anas, Soegiarto, Soesilo Soedarman, Adhyatma, Haryati Soebadio, Siswono Yudohusodo, Akbar Tanjung, Sarwono, Saadillah Mursjid, Nasrudin Sumintapura, Soedrajad Djiwandono, Tunky Aribowo, Sjarifuddin Baharsjah, B.S. Muljana, Try Soetrisno, Sukarton Marmosudjono, Adrianus Mooy. (This is our tally. **Kompas** reported 21 but provided no list.)

There were 19 Ministers dropped from the last Cabinet: Sudharmono (not appearing in any of the published "complete Cabinet composition" lists), Abdul Gafur, Surono, Ali Wardhana, Alamsjah, Hari Suharto, Mochtar, Poniman, Rachmat Saleh, Achmad Affandi, J.H. Hutasoit, Soedjarwo, Subroto, Suyono Sosrodarsono, Roesmin Noerjadin, Achmad Tahir, Martono, Soewardjono Soerjaningrat, Nani Soedarsono. (**Kompas** reports 17, but apparently undercounted. Of these, so far only Sudharmono, formerly State Secretary and now Vice President, retains any high government position.)

Soeharto said on TVRI that before making final decisions on the new Cabinet, he consulted with Vice President Sudharmono. (Those Cabinet members whom we would place in Sudharmono's "camp," narrowly defined, include Moerdiono, Ismail Saleh, Sukarton, Ginandjar, Sarwono, and Akbar Tanjung. This does not mean he advocated all their appointments. Others who came up through the "Golkar channel" include Siswono, Harmoko, Cosmas Batubara, and Sulasikin Murpratomo. On the other hand, Sudharmono's reputed rival, Moerdani, whether through the Army or through CSIS, seems to have no "camp" in the Cabinet. Soegiarto and Soedrajad Djiwandono seem the only remotely possible candidates. While Try Soetrisno will perforce have important links, some dependent, with Moerdani for a while, we regard him as a distinct force, far closer to the academy generation officers than Moerdani. Both Moerdani and Try do have some key bureaucratic allies at lower levels than in the Cabinet. While Sudharmono, Moerdani, and Try Soetrisno all have significant demonstrated loyalty to Soeharto, we consider Try Soetrisno's commitment in this regard to be markedly less than the others, precisely because of his close acquaintance with the Soeharto family, their lifestyles as contrasted with his own, and his much shorter list of major political and military services performed on Soeharto's behalf.) (TV/IN)

Soeharto also noted that it was "mandatory for Ministers to cooperate with one another under the President's leadership. Because of this, the principles of cooperation and coordination have been important considerations for me in drawing up the new Cabinet." (This seems to reflect some weariness with the fairly high level of internecine strife within the last Cabinet.) He has assigned the Vice president to coordinate supervision of planning and of implementation. Sudharmono's "external" supervision will be distinct from "internal" supervision by the Ekuin Coordinating Minister, the Finance and Development Supervision Board (BPKP), the Inspector Generals of Development, departmental Inspector Generals, and other officials in charge of supervision throughout the executive. "All supervision activities and steps are exclusively designed to prevent and deal with abuse of power, waste, and leakage."

(This reflects Soeharto's continued nervousness over fiscal problems. It may also reflect a renewed determination to curb lower level corruption. Seemingly, this concern is partly reflected in Sarwono's appointment, since he has been given control of Opstib, Operation Order. However, the absence so far of any expanded role for the Auditors Board and BPKP, led by more senior figures than Sarwono who are even more personally intolerant of corruption seems to mean Soeharto still declines to come to grips with high-level corruption and waste. His dismissal of some of the more offensive Ministers in this regard seems insignificant in view of the scale of the problems, even excepting the excesses of the extended First Family. It is also possible that Soeharto is trying to palliate some of the discontent among the generally clean academy generation officers and that Kopkamtib's coming changed name and mandate is linked to the same source of pressure.) (TV)

Soeharto also formulated the five fundamental tasks and targets, or Fivefold Creed (Panca Krida), which have to be achieved by the Fifth Development Cabinet. (We consider these not simply dogmas, but codes foreshadowing future initiatives.) First, further, increase, deepen, and expand the implementation of national development as the practice of Pancasila resting on the Development Trilogy and national resilience. Second, increasing national discipline through pioneering by the state machinery for the realization of a clean and competent government. Third, institutionalizing (membudayakan) Pancasila, Pancasila Democracy, and the Guide to the Living and Practice of Pancasila (P4) in the life of the society, nation, and state. Fourth, carrying out a free and active foreign policy in the national interest. Fifth, holding an election in 1992 which is direct, general, free, and secret (not also "jurdil," honest and just). (KO)

Ministers who rose through "the Korpri channel" (the government bureaucracy) include Nasrudin Sumintapura, Saadillah Mursjid, Tungky Ariwibowo, Arifin Siregar, Wardojo, Sjarifuddin Baharsjah, Hartarto, Ali Alatas, Adhyatma, Hasjrul Harahap, Radinal Moochtar, Fuad Hassan, Radius Prawiro, Haryati Soebadio, and Munawir Sjadzali. Those who rose from outside purely as "technocrats" include Soedradjad Djiwandono, B.J. Habibie, Adrianus Mooy, J.B. Sumarlin, B. Sugiarta Muljana, Emil Salim, and Saleh Afiff. (IN)

Some biodata follows on the "new faces" in the Cabinet:

Rudini, Interior Minister. Born Malang, 1929. Father a Public Works Department employee. Devout Muslim. Graduated in 1955 after 4 years at Royal Military Academy (KMA) in Breda, Netherlands. Instructor at National Military Academy (AMN) for 7 years, 1959-1966, which means he knows a great deal about the academy generation. Seskoad, 1970. Lemhannas, 1977. Commander, Airborne Combat Command (Kopurlinud), Kostrad, 1975. Kostrad Chief of Staff, 1977. Commander, Kodam XIII/Merdeka (North Sulawesi), 1978-81, his only territorial position. Commander, Kostrad, 1981. East Timor veteran. As Army Chief of Staff (KSAD) 1983-86, played major role in implementing Army re-organization and re-generation (regenerasi), providing further updated familiarity with academy generation. Visited pesantrens and universities in wake of September 1984 Priok incident. No public position for 2 years after leaving KSAD job. This is his first civilian position. Combat man. Thinks KSAD should keep out of politics. Admires Eisenhower and Achmad Yani. Short, full of vitality. Tough and disciplined. Smiles easily except when things don't go smoothly. Sensitive to welfare of his subordinates and their careers. Doesn't believe in keeping officer in same position too long, considers this harmful to officer's career. Doesn't like officers who "whine" (cengeng). Believes main problem in Interior is how to makes regions "more autonomous" in view of fiscal stringency in center. (TE/KO)

Ali Alatas, Foreign Minister. Born Jakarta, 1932. Muslim. Betawi. Father an UI Letters Faculty lecturer. Graduate UI Law and Social Sciences Faculty, 1956. Graduate of Foreign Service Academy. Career foreign service officer, first such officer to become Foreign Minister. Foreign Affairs Department spokesman, 1960-66. Political Counselor in Indonesian Embassy, Washington, 1966-70. Close association with Adam Malik. Personal Secretary to Foreign Minister, 1975-76. Indonesia's Permanent Representative to U.N., Geneva, 1976-78. Secretary to Vice President, 1978-82. Indonesian Ambassador/Permanent Representative to U.N., New York, 1983-88. Once chosen as spokesman for Group of 77. Considered as candidate for Foreign Minister in 1983. Has spent half his life abroad, gone through 15 passport books. "Alex." Tough, argumentative negotiator. Sociable. Can talk for hours about his work, but not about his personal life. Likes espionage stories. Wife Junisa is Eurasian. (TE/KO/ED)

Radinal Moochtar, Public Works Minister. Born in Surabaya, 1930. Devout Muslim. Graduate of ITB Architecture Department, 1960. Further education at University of Kentucky and Royal Danish Academy of the Arts. Career civil servant. At Bappenas for 16 years, 1967-83. First President Director of National Housing Company (Perumnas). Director General, Buildings Construction. Secretary General of Public Works Department. A field man. Believes public works development only succeeds with press scrutiny. Admittedly not "diplomatic" in speech. (Has kept extraordinarily low public profile over the years.) (KO/TE)

Soesilo Soedarman, Tourism, Posts, and Telecommunications Minister. Born 1928, Cilacap, Central Java. Muslim. Son of once wealthy farming family hit by land reform under Japanese occupation. Father was secretary to village head. Graduate of Yogyakarta Military Academy, 1948, classmate of Subroto and Sayidiman. Among top 5 in his class of 197. Stayed on as instructor, trained Sudharmono. Cavalry officer. In 1948-49, operations officer in Wehrkreise III under then Lt. Col. Soeharto. Again met Soeharto when teaching at Seskoad in 1950s. Seskoad, 1967. Deputy Governor, Akabri, 1968-70. Defense Attache, Indonesian Embassy, Washington, 1970-73. Commander, Kodam XIV/Hasanuddin, 1973. Assistant for Personnel, Hankam, 1975-78. Commanding General, Akabri, 1978-80. Commander, Kowilhan I (Sumatera and West Kalimantan), 1980-85. Ambassador to U.S., 1986-88 (recalled like Alex Alatas). Refined in speech and bearing, self-controlled, but known as tough and fiery speaker among close friends, particularly on political and defense matters. Strong anti-communist. Likes gamelan, admires wayang figure Bima. Militant non-smoker. Married to Widaningsri, sister of Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Himawan Sutanto, a Yogya Military Academy 1949 graduate. Strong family man, provided children with advanced education. (TE/KO)

Azwar Anas, Communications Minister. Born Padang, West Sumatera, 1931. Devout Muslim, strong Minang cultural roots. Father was head of railways in Padang. Chemistry graduate of ITB, 1959. Army Reserves Officers School (Sepacad), 1960. (He is an engineer trained in management who decided to work for the Army.) President Director of various state enterprises 1968-77, including Pindad (Army Industries), PT Semen Padang, and PT Semen Baturaja. Chairman I, Indonesian Cement Association, 1971-77. Popular Governor of West Sumatera, 1977-87. Attracted much Minang capital back to province. (KO/TE)

Soegiarto, Transmigration Minister. Born 1936 in Kebumen, Central Java. Son of local postal services official. Left UGM Medical Faculty class for AMN. AMN 1960 graduate (the first graduating class). Seskoad, 1971 (involved in 3rd Army Seminar on inheritance of values of '45). Seskogab. Combat experience has always been with Kostrad troops. Has seen combat in West Java (against DI/TII, in Garut when Kartosuwiryo captured), South Sulawesi (against DI/TII led by Kahar Muzakar), West Kalimantan, Irian Jaya (against OPM), and East Timor (against Fretilin). Assistant for Operations, Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih (Irian Jaya), 1973. Commanded Kostrad Airborne Brigade (3 airborne battalions, 330, 328, and 305). Dropped with Battalion 328 (Kostrad) and Battalion 402 (elite Banteng Raiders of Diponegoro Division) in Baucau, East Timor during December 1975 invasion. Performance in East Timor earned him extraordinary promotion from Lt. Col. to Colonel. Commander, Indonesia's Garuda Contingent to U.N. forces in Middle East), 1978. Chief of Staff, Kodam III/17 Agustus (West Sumatera, for 5 months). First AMN graduate to become Kodam Commander, XIV/Hasanuddin (South and Southeast Sulawesi), 1979-83. Visited numerous transmigration sites during this tour. Commander, Kodam IV/Diponegoro (Central Java and Yogyakarta), 1983-85. Assistant for Personnel, ABRI Headquarters, 1985-86. Chief of ABRI Social and Political Staff, 1986-88. This is his first civilian assignment. Informed of appointment in "four eyes" meeting with Soeharto. "Pak Gik." Among his "unforgettable experiences," he lists surviving helicopter crashes in South Sulawesi and West Kalimantan. (KO/TE/ED/AK)

M. Adhyatma, Health Minister. Born 1932 in Semarang. Graduated from UI Medical Faculty in 1959, Master of Public Health from University of California at Berkeley. Career officer in Directorate General for Abolition of Contagious Diseases and Settlement Sanitation. Director General, Prevention and Abolition of Contagious Diseases and Settlement Sanitation for 2 terms. Resigned in 1987 to become Regional Advisor for Southeast Asia to UNICEF in Bangkok before second term ended. Located by Soeharto in a village in Bangla Desh and asked to return to serve his country. Gave UNICEF 24 hours notice. Honest, modest, scholarly, intense, likes challenges. (KO/TE)

Haryati Soebadio, Social Affairs Minister. Muslim. Born 1928 in Jakarta. Daughter of a judge. First Indonesian woman to specialize in ancient Javanese literature and Sanskrit. Husband died in 1961, leaving her with 3 children. Obtained both bachelor's and doctoral degrees from Gemeentelijke Universiteit, Amsterdam in 1956 and 1971, respectively. Dean of UI Letters Faculty, 1975-78. Rank of Professor, 1975 till now. Director General of Culture, 1978-87. "Ibu Nunuk." Has written 6 novels and short stories for women's magazines under pen name, Aryanti. Had no comment when asked about Sports Prize Contributions (SOB, replacement for Porkas soccer lottery), had to study the facts first. "Academics have to be like that." (KO/TE)

Siswono Yudohusodo, Public Housing Minister. Born 1943 in Long Iram, East Kalimantan, where his father, a medical doctor, was then serving. Son of former Jakarta Governor Dr. Suwondo. Activist at ITB, graduated in 1967 as civil engineer. Once in leadership of Bandung University Students Association (PMB), member of ITB Student Council, leader in Indonesian National University Students Movement (GMNI). Once sold produce. Borrowed Rp. 7.5 million from a friend to start CV Bangun Cipta, a real estate and contracting firm which repaired homes. Established PT Bangun Tjipta Sarana in 1970. Majority shareholder in Bangun Cipta Sarana Group which has 12 subsidiaries with annual gross yield of Rp. 125 billion. Must now vacate position as President Director. In real estate business 20 years. A Deputy Chairman of Kadin since 1981. General Chairman of Real Estate Businessmen's Association, 1986. Only businessman named to Cabinet. On Golkar Central Leadership Council as Chairman for Cooperatives and Entrepreneurs. Member of DPR, 1988 (will now have to resign this position as well). Author of 1985 best seller, **Warga Baru: Kasus Cina di Indonesia (New Citizens: The Case of the Chinese in Indonesia)**, a substantial change of view from the period when he led anti-Chinese demonstrations as a student. Given mandate to build cheap housing and fix up neighborhoods. "Pak Sis." (KO/TE)

Akbar Tanjung, Youth and Sports Minister. Born 1945 in Sibolga, North Sumatera. Muslim. Father had aristocratic title of Sutan. Activist since his student days. Once Chairman of UI Engineering Faculty Student Senate. Graduated as electrical engineer. General Chairman of Islamic University Students Association (HMI), 1971-74. DPR Golkar member, 1977 till now. General Chairman, Indonesian Youth National Committee (KNPI), 1978-81, after being a Chairman for previous 4 years. Deputy Secretary General of Golkar Central Leadership Council, 1983 till now. Chief Editor, **Pelita.** Subordinates there complain he is too busy in organizations. Youngest Minister in the Cabinet, followed by Siswono, Sarwono, Ginandjar, and Harmoko (the only ones under 50). A Golkar "politician." Secretary of MPR Golkar faction. Served as frequent emissary for Sudharmono in recent MPR General Session. Serious, calm. Wife "Nina," 28, is member of Solo aristocratic family (Raden Ayu). She is completing her studies at UI Social and Political Sciences Faculty. (KO/IN)

Sarwono Kusumaatmadja, Minister for Effectiveness of the State Machinery. Born 1943. Civil engineering graduate of ITB. A Chairman of KAMI Bandung's General

Presidium, 1967-68. General Chairman, ITB Student Council. Golkar Secretary General. Often goes off the record. "This is just between us." When doesn't want to have a subject publicized, says he has "a toothache." Otherwise, speaks straightforwardly. First non-Bappenas man in this Ministerial position. Many friends, good mixer. (KO/IN)

Saadillah Mursjid, Cabinet Secretary. Born 1937 in Barabai, South Kalimantan. Muslim. Son of a farmer who also runs pesantren. UGM education graduate, 1964. Attended Netherlands Economic Institute, Rotterdam, 1968. Master of Public Administration degree from Harvard University, 1972. One of Prof. Widjojo Nitisastro's proteges. Career in Bappenas since 1967. Deputy Chairman of Administration, Bappenas, 1983 till now. Secretary to National Development Planning Minister, 1985 till now. (KO/TE/ED)

Nasrudin Sumintapura, Junior Minister for Finance. Graduate of UI Economics Faculty, 1965. M.A., University of Wisconsin, 1971. Lecturer in UI Economics Faculty, 1965 till now. Chairman of Management Institute in UI Economics Faculty, 1984-87. Assistant to Ekuin Coordinating Minister. Helped put together December 24, 1987 deregulation package. Known as firm manager, tough, detects lies readily, can't abide rule-breakers. More an administrator who gets things done than a thinker or conceptualizer. (KO)

J. Soedradjad Djiwandono, Junior Minister for Trade. Born 1938 in Yogyakarta. Son of Yogya Palace royal servants. UGM economics graduate, 1963. M.S. in economics, University of Wisconsin, 1966. Master of Political Economy, Boston University. Ph.D. in economics, Boston University, 1978, with specialization in monetary and trade economics. Long career in National Social Sciences and Economics Institute (Leknas), Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), 1964-78. UI Economics Faculty lecturer. Teaches at Seskogab, Seskoal, Seskopol, Seskoau, and Lemhannas. Assistant to Ekuin Coordinating Minister. Head of State Monetary and Finance Bureau, Bappenas. CSIS economist. Prolific writer, multi-disciplinary, hard worker. Married to Biantiningsih Miderawati, daughter of Prof. Soemitro Djojohadikusumo. Met at University of Wisconsin. (KO/TE)

Tunky Ariwibowo, Junior Minister for Industry. Born 1936 in Malang. Muslim. Undergraduate degree in metallurgy from Nova Scotia Technical College (Canada), 1960. Born 1936 in Malang, East Java. Career in Industry Department. President Director of PT Krakatau Steel, 1975 till now. Turned it from "monument of failure" to "monument of success." (KO/TE)

Sjarifuddin Baharsjah, Junior Minister for Agriculture. Born 1933 in Cirebon, West Java. Minangkabau. IPB graduate, 1960. Began career at IPB. Master of Science in agriculture, University of Kentucky, 1965. Ph.D., North Carolina State University, 1973. Promoted to full professor at ITB in 1984. Head of Agro-economics Research Center, Agriculture Department, 1981-83. Secretary General of Agriculture Department, 1983 till now. Low profile figure. Serious, good explainer. (KO/TE)

Bernardus Sugiarta Muljana, Deputy Chairman of Bappenas. Devout Catholic. Born 1931 in Yogyakarta. UI economics graduate, 1959, then joined teaching staff. Once General Chairman of Indonesian Catholic University Students Association (PMKRI). Ph.D. in agricultural economics, University of Wisconsin, 1963. Career in Bappenas. Deputy Chairman of Bappenas for Control and Implementation and Secretary I of the Team on Effectiveness of Projects Funded with Foreign Aid. Assistant to Ekuin Coordinating Minister. Low profile, high organizational ability. "Benny." (KO/TE)

Sukarton Marmosudjono, Attorney General. Born 1937 in Tegal. UGM law graduate, 1962. Assistant to the State Secretary for High and Supreme State Institutions. (Sudharmono's right-hand man in political operations.) (KO)

Adrianus Mooy, Governor of the Central Bank. Born 1936 on Rote, East Nusa Tenggara. UGM economics graduate, then taught there in 1958. Obtained Ph.D. in econometrics, University of Wisconsin, returned to UGM Economics Faculty. Numerous government posts 1967 on. Assistant to Ekuin Coordinating Minister. Bappenas Deputy Chairman for Fiscal and Monetary Affairs. Fluent English, Dutch. (KO) took his place. "He is from same village, Plarangan, Kebumen. Apparently Pak Harto was keeping the job for a Karanganyar man. He knows precisely that area is poor and packed with people. Heh, heh." Sugiarto told **Tempo**, "The transmigration problem was how to elevate the have-nots to haves. And now the problem is how to make them 'happy' (English)." (Apparently nobody's fool, this "young man" of 52 years.) (ED/TE)

Kirsinah binti Imam Bajuri, a resident of the Pematang Panggang transmigration site in South Sumatera, wrote to **Tempo** on behalf of her mosque youth group. "We are transmigrants from Java. We have been in this settlement for over 10 years. But our efforts at agriculture are still insufficient. Many of our husbands and the men generally have gone away again. They have virtually abandoned agricultural work. Working to change our fates, we youth want to create jobs here. But we don't have the capital for equipment. So we ask **Tempo** readers for about Rp. 350,000 to buy it and honoraria for training us." (TE)

Editor interviewed Population and Environment Minister Emil Salim. He is one of the busiest Ministers. His schedule is packed. "The environmental concept in the 1988 Broad Guidelines of State Policy (GBHN) are more advanced than those in the 1983 GBHN. Now there is the concept of sustainable development (pembangunan berlanjutan)." "Long term development means retaining our natural resources in the long term." "Resources management means developing and giving prominence to regional potentials, whether industry, agriculture, or mining. This development should not harm the regions' environment. Spatial planning of development must be clear." "Control of riverine pollution has to be constant. Don't treat rivers like some sort of wastebasket. This is why siting of industries and settlements becomes important. Most river pollution comes from household waste." Practically every household throws their garbage into the rivers. You can be sure that all Indonesia's river are becoming garbage bins. The sites of all industries in Indonesia are near rivers because then it's easy to dispose of their waste."

APRIL 2. (Sat.)

Editor interviewed Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. "I maintain that in the settlement of big disputes or problems, U.N. achievements have been quite impressive. For example, the problems of the Congo, Irian Jaya were settled because of the U.N. How many states are now independent? Tens of them because of the U.N." "The people of East Timor have decided their own destiny. They chose integration with Indonesia. So, we said to Portugal and the rest of the world, the problem of East Timor is settled. The process of decolonization is complete. Indonesia didn't swallow it up (tak mencaplok)." Since 1982, Portugal "has not dared to submit the problem. It's postponed from year to year." "Every time they try to attack, we attack back. Basically, we argue with the facts. We say, you're wrong, these are the facts. Who fled, who left the territory?" "It was Portugal which cut off diplomatic relations. Not us. The initiative was from them. They cut them off. From our side, there are no special conditions for normalizing relations. But, important, they can't demand the return of the status quo ante, Portugal returning and repeating the process of decolonization. This can't be done." (ED)

The office of U.S. Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter announced that 5 Asian countries—Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, Indonesia, and Thailand—whose labor and human rights practices had been challenged by labor unions and other bodies in the U.S. would continue to get privileges under the General System of Preferences (GSP) because of "improvements" in their practices in these areas. Director of Foreign Trade Relations in the Trade Department, Soeprapto Ranoeatmodjo, said that some time ago Indonesia had almost had its GSP facilities revoked because it was regarded as violating labor rights and copyrights (sic). Due to the success of the Indonesian government in making approaches to America, the plan for revoking Indonesia's GSP facilities did not occur. (PB)

APRIL 3 (SUN.) - The Indonesian press closed down for Kenaikan Isa Almasih, the Ascension of Jesus Christ, more popularly known as Paskah, Easter, a public holiday.

behind." (UP)

APRIL 11 (Mon)

East Timor News (a joint project of CDPM and A Paz e Possivel em Timor-Leste) reports that the East Timor Nationalist Convergence (Fretilin and UDT) has asked the President of Portugal for formal recognition and commencement of talks under U.N. auspices among all parties involved in the conflict, including participation of the legitimate representatives of the East Timor people. The requests are conveyed in a 4-page March 9 document titled "East Timor: State of Affairs and Proposed Solution." The signatories are Fretilin's Abilio Araujo and UDT's Moises Amaral. The Parliamentary Commission on East Timor received Nationalist Convergence representatives on March 17. (CD/PP)

Portugal's Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro said in an interview with the weekly newspaper **Semanario**, "We have to be realistic and not expect too much from the U.S.A. in relation to Timor." "For the U.S.A., Indonesia is, let's say, the bastion of U.S. interests in the area." He would not comment on the Indonesian-proposed Portuguese parliamentary visit to East Timor in order not to "influence the decision which has to be taken entirely by the Assembly of the Republic." "In the Ministry, we are preparing for the different options possible and their consequences." Portugal is working to oppose Indonesia's grand design to head the Non-Aligned Movement. "We have also displeased Indonesia quite a lot in that we have almost systematically put obstacles in the way of EEC-Indonesia relations." (CD/PP)

Dutch M.P. Mrs. Ien van den Heuvel presented a highly critical new report on East Timor to the Political Affairs Commission of the European Parliament. She refers to "the administration which Indonesia carries out in East Timor, as though the territory were its province, when in light of international law, Timor is under Portuguese administration." The Commission members almost unanimously declared themselves against the occupation of East Timor. The Portuguese welcomed the report and came up with concrete suggestions for "improvement of the text," including "withdrawal of Indonesian troops, reaffirmation of the Maubere people's right not only to self-determination but to independence as stated in the Portuguese constitution, and reaffirmation of Portugal as being the administering power." After final revision by the writer, the report will be submitted for Commission approval about April 28 and then will be presented to a plenary session of the European Parliament. (CD/PP)

APRIL 12 (TUES.) - Interior Minister Rudini told a meeting of Social and Political Affairs Directorate General officers from throughout Indonesia there was no need to be concerned that voting or making decisions by majority vote was a sign that Indonesian political life was heading toward liberalism. "In Pancasila democracy, we do not recognize the presence of opposition institutions (lembaga, a more far-reaching formulation than the more usual partai). Rudini argued that the 1988 MPR General Session (where voting occurred) enriched our understanding of Pancasila democracy. While not all decisions were unanimous, there was no need to worry about this because the 1945 Constitution didn't regard it as taboo. (KO)

One of Buyung Nasution's lawyers, Luhut Pangaribuan, told **Jawa Pos** that Buyung said in a telex that he would stay on in the Netherlands even after his suspension from the practice of law for one year ends a month from now. Buyung expects to obtain his doctorate from Utrecht University this coming October. He wants to become a lecturer at this university where he has spoken at the request of student activists and as a guest lecturer. Luhut could not say if Buyung wanted to return to the practice of law in Indonesia. Luhut believed Buyung would not need to apply again to the Justice Minister for a practice permit. Buyung continued to monitor developments at LBH, which he founded. (JW)

Brig. Gen. Rusmadi Siddik was installed as Commander of Military Area (Kodam) VII/Wirabuana (Sulawesi) replacing Maj. Gen. Nana Narundana who will receive new duties at ABRI Headquarters. Rusmadi was (reportedly) previously Army Deputy Assistant for Personnel. (PB)

Two Palu contractors have reportedly sold 5 tons of rice destined for transmigrants

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INDONESIA NEWS SERVICE - NO. 98 - MAY 9, 1988

KEY: JW - Jawa Pos, KO - Kompas, NG - Newsgrid, NY - New York Times, PB - Suara Pembaruan, TE - Tempo

APRIL 18 (MON.) - After reporting to Golkar General Chairman Sudharmono, Golkar Secretary General Sarwono told reporters that Golkar's Central Leadership Council (DPP) regretted Sarwo Edhie's resignation from the DPR (and also hence MPR in his case). His dependability had been very useful to Golkar. However, Golkar must respect his individual wishes since several reasons for his resignation were "personal" in nature. (PB)

The Grand Conference of the Ansor Youth Movement (GP Ansor) ended Sunday at Ciawi, Bogor. General Chairman Slamet Effendi Yusuf told reporters that Ansor leaders could no longer hold offices in 2 organizations at once. Members also could not belong to another organization of a similar type. Members could belong to any of the 3 political organizations, whether PPP, PDI, or Golkar. Slamet said Ansor's leadership at all levels would conform to these rules. "Those still doubling up will be provided an alternative. Remain in Ansor by leaving their office in another organization, or leave Ansor." Eliminating dual membership was "intended to assist the government in connection with Law No. 5/1985 on Social Organizations." Slamet also disclosed that Ansor's caderization program would undergo big changes, particularly in guidance. "Ansor will create national cadres for the interests of development." Slamet said there was no more talk at the conference of a proposal once voiced by West Java Ansor leader Drs. Kurdi Mukri that Ansor become independent (of NU and presumably all other organizations) so it would have more room for maneuver. Slamet also disclosed that Ansor's Panzer (Banser) units, its "most advanced force in crushing the (PKI-linked) People's Youth (Pemuda Rakyat) and Indonesian Peasants Front (Barisan Tani Indonesia)," would be "adapted to the dynamics of the present time." "As you see, they wore their Implementing Command uniforms, but not afterwards. The uniforms are fine, but there are no more ties of command and the like. We are fixing up our conception of the Panzers." (Reminders of death squads have apparently grown somewhat embarrassing.) (JW)

Sutejo Mulyodiharjo, a Deputy Head of the the National Family Planning Coordination Board (BKKBN), announced that Indonesia has signed a contract to provide 144 million condoms to Western European countries to prevent the spread of AIDS. Sutejo said the condoms would not be used within the framework of a family planning program. He said only that the order came from the European Economic Community and did not say how Indonesia would produce the condoms. Its only condom factory has a capacity of slightly less than 144 million condoms a year. Sutejo said the factory now produces around 29 million condoms a year to meet Indonesia's domestic needs. (NG)

Australia's domination of the Asian coal market may be challenged by Indonesia in the next decade, according to Director General of General Mining Soetaryo Sigit. He told an Australian Coal Association conference that Indonesia had the capacity to supply 35% of coal needed by ASEAN. It could also capture 10% of the the east and north Asian markets, including Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. That would amount to between 82-100 million tons of coal a year by 1992. Indonesia's coal production in 1987 was only 2.75 million tons. But coal exploration in Sumatera and Kalimantan put total coal reserves and resources at more than 30.5 billion tons. (NG)

Luis Amorim de Sousa, Press Counselor of the Portuguese Embassy in Washington, complained in a letter to **The New York Times** that it was "misleading" in a March 20 story filed by Barbara Crossette to refer to East Timor as an Indonesian province. "East Timor, listed by the United Nations as a non-self-governing territory, has been under military occupation by Indonesia since Dec. 7, 1985." Indonesian soldiers who die there are "part of an occupation army." Portugal is "internationally recognized as East Timor's administering power." In another letter on the same story, Richard Reoch, Head of Press and Publications of Amnesty International in London, objected to a statement that the number of Timorese political prisoners is "now 48 and is still falling." Reoch noted, "This statement refers to convicted prisoners held in the two major prisons in Dili. An unknown number is detained for relatively short periods in cells in local military and police posts outside the capital." No international organizations had been granted access to these cells. (Indonesia—and East Timor—remain a Southeast Asian sideshow to Crossette and the **Times** generally. American print newsmen remain fixated mainly on the Philippines and Vietnam. The situation remains even more imbalanced in the broadcast media.) (NY)

APRIL 19 (TUES.) - In an interview with **Pembaruan,** ABRI Chief of Social and Political Staff Lt. Gen. Harsudiyono Hartas rejected the view that the military in Indonesia wanted to become the determining force ("determinator" and "penentu" at various places in the story). "This is completely the wrong interpretation," he said, when asked about the vocal stance of ABRI members in legislative bodies recently. The officer in charge of implementing the second of ABRI's dual functions stressed that what ABRI was doing now was increasing its function as a "dynamizer," which he described as a term meaning "waking people up" ("untuk menggugah"). "We don't want to be the determining force. We don't want to be in control. Everyone has the same rights. This is a country based on the family principle. Believe me, the successor generation in ABRI has no militaristic ambitions at all." The ABRI factions in the DPR and Area DPRs were seen by many as "vocal" because ABRI wanted to be more productive and effective in its role in legislative institutions, in making laws and overseeing the implementation of laws by the government. In our system based on the family principle which doesn't recognize opposition, there is an obligation to supervise not only by the ABRI faction. This is an obligation of all factions. He explained that ABRI faction members had been put through courses. They were always being evaluated for their ability in undertaking legislative functions. "So, they have been long prepared. If they're vocal now, it's not because of a design from the top. It represents long-standing instructions." If laws or regulations become obstructive, we adapt and perfect them. We change the bureaucracy so it doesn't become "excessively bureaucratic." ABRI has a long-term political concept toward which it is advancing stage by stage. He mentioned paragraph 4 of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution which states that ours is a government of the country, not the government of a group. "Now there still are traces of the old way of thinking. So in 5 years we have to carry out decontamination so that after 5 years we all think the same way." The process of decontamination has to cover all strata of the society. "Take university students. We have no objection to their having active student organizations. But let's have common perceptions of national ideals first. The results will be better if we work integratively." (PB)

A **Jawa Pos** reporter caught Sarwo Edhie going to his office at the DPR's Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Board (BKSAP, the Chairmanship of which he was given as a sop after failing to secure the MPR/DPR Chairmanship). When did he send in his resignation letter? March 15. Why? "Before it was sent, there was an oral discussion with the Golkar General Chairman." When was that? "Before the MPR General Session. It was agreed that the timing for the resignation be after the General Session ended, namely, March 15." Sudharmono agreed to it? "In principle." The reporter had heard one reason for the resignation was "a secret between Sarwo Edhie and Sudharmono," while the other was that Sarwo Edhie felt he couldn't do much for the public in the DPR. Is this so? "I think it wouldn't be ethical for me to say anything." You resigned because you were disappointed? "Did I ever say I was disaapointed? It's an honor just to be a good citizen again." Will the resignation have an influence on Golkar? "Wah, Golkar's big. Sarwo Edhie's just one man. Gaining or losing one Sarwo Edhie doesn't mean much." Impression of the DPR? "Because I can't do much here, I hope someone else will replace me." Your view of the BKSAP and DPR? "Better ask others their criticisms of the DPR. Right now, it's better I don't criticize the DPR." A new position several months from now? "You know that I'm someone who sizes up a field situation very quickly. A week, or perfect the statutes and bylaws, and make a political declaration. Prior to the DPP meeting, Golkar Deputy Secretary General Akbar Tanjung told reporters he hoped that the representation of the young generation in the Golkar DPP would rise from 50% to 60% as a result of the coming National Deliberations. (PB)

NTT DPR Chairman Hendrik Fernandez told **Kompas** in Kupang that none of the NTT DPR factions had yet submitted any names of candidates for Governor. Interior Department regulations provide that Area DPRs must consult with the Interior Minister over such names no later than 3 months prior to a Governor's end of term. Ben Mboi's term ends this coming July 1. The process is therefore late. Fernandez, who is also the NTT Golkar Chairman, disclosed that his faction had been waiting weeks for guidelines from Golkar's DPP. He refused to mention names of candidates favored by the NTT Golkar DPD. (KO)

After meeting with visiting Japanese Foreign Minister Soesuke Uno, Ekuin Minister Radius Prawiro told reporters he estimated that Japan's aid to Indonesia within the IGGI framework would exceed last year's total. But he stressed that no final figure had been mentioned in their negotiations. Uno paid a courtesy call on President Soeharto and said afterward he had not brought any concrete figures on aid. A special Japanese government mission would come to Indonesia for final negotiations before the IGGI meetings in June. (KO/PB)

Capital Investment Coordination Board (BKPM) Chairman Sanyoto Sastrowardoyo told reporters the government would now permit foreign investment projects valued at less than $1 million. This was in response to a complaint by Japanese Ambassador Sumio Edamura about Indonesia's investment climate. The projects would still have to fulfil other established conditions. Particularly middle and small scale export-oriented companies from Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan were now swinging around to Indonesia because their products made at home had become uncompetitive due to high production costs. (JW)

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters he very much regretted an incident which had occurred involving 3 TVRI reporters who had been invited to a Press Club lunch in Darwin. They found the room filled with posters and banners protesting the deaths of 5 Australian reporters killed in East Timor in 1975. The TVRI reporters felt surprised and insulted, left the room, and departed for home on the next Garuda flight. (PB)

Indonesia News Service is a twice-weekly bulletin of INDONESIA PUBLICATIONS. **Editor** - John A. MacDougall. Prepaid annual subscription rates for 104 issues are $174 in the U.S., $178 Canada, and $231 elsewhere. **Indonesia News Service** may be freely quoted, but any re-printing of a significant portion of its contents should have the prior written agreement of the editor. Address all correspondence to INDONESIA PUBLICATIONS, 7538 Newberry Lane, Lanham-Seabrook, Maryland 20706, U.S.A.

Regional Secretary. Warsito was nominated alone by the ABRI, PPP, and PDI factions, while the Golkar faction added the 2 others along with Warsito. This ends what had become a heated problem about a native son as Governor. (Warsito is evidently Javanese and not an NTB native son.) "Public aspirations in NTB demanded surfacing a candidate from ABRI," said NTB ABRI faction Chairman M. Sukisto. (Outgoing incumbent Gatot Suherman is a retired Army Brigadier General.) NTB DPR Deputy Chairman Col. Luqman said, "Native son, OK. But it would have to be a native son who had strong and tested national ideas. We have to think and act in the context of unity and the national interest, not just submit a candidate bearing the aspirations of only part of a group." Over the past several months voices for a native son had dominated NTB Golkar leadership meetings. That is why NTB Golkar Chairman Mesir Suryadi S.H. appealed to all sides to restrain themselves. If Warsito is confirmed, the channel for becoming NTB Governor will be the same as for Gatot Suherman, who was also a Chief of Staff of Kodam (Military Area) Udayana (which now covers Bali and all Nusa Tenggara through and including East Timor, even though there are 4 Governors spanning the same region). Warsito has just been released from his duties at ABRI headquarters. He was previously in command of operations in East Timor. He is known personally as a devout individual. (JW)

Former Economics, Finance, and Industry (Ekuin) Cooridnating Minister Ali Wardhana told **Kompas** as many as possible non-oil, non-gas exports had to be stimulated. Attention should not be focused on just several types of commodities. This broad base approach would make Indonesia less dependent. Deregulation and debureaucratization were the keys to export success. Indonesia was already exporting 300 commodities. But it still lost out to newly industrialized countries like Taiwan which exported 6,000 commodities. Ali Wardhana was responding to the views expressed by several businessmen and economic experts Kwik Kian Gie, Hadi Soesastro, and Sri Edi Swasono that attention should be centered on just several commodities. (The latter approach typically requires more government steering of the export development process and runs counter to the debureaucratization thrust in Indonesia. Singapore has used the more bureaucratic approach with substantial success, but this was probably dictated by its far narrower natural resource base and greater dependence on export-led growth.) (KO)

MAY 25 (Wed.)

Visiting Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales told reporters that in his view it was prudent (prudente, Spanish) not to talk about democracy in Indonesia. "Who are we to do it?" It's not Spain's problem. A Spanish reporter asked about East Timor. Gonzales replied that the Spanish delegation had gotten an explanation from Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. So he (Gonzales) knew Indonesia's views. "But actually, we only mutually exchanged information." Spain would work for good relations with countries with whom Spain had good relations. It was not clear if he meant Portugal which has yet to recognize East Timor's integration into Indonesia. (The **Jakarta Post** account said that East Timor had not been discussed in the Gonzales-Soeharto meeting and that Alatas had been briefed on the state of relations between Lisbon and Madrid as close neighbors. Spain is clearly more interested in expanding its current co-production of airplanes with Indonesia into other economic fields than it is in Indonesia's policy on East Timor. Nevertheless, Gonzales carefully avoided any endorsement of Indonesia's East Timor policy.) (PB/JP)

MAY 26 (THURS.) - Noted businessman Probosutedjo who runs several private universities said he was against Gen. L.B. Moerdani's proposal to establish a special school to train future leaders. Probo said such a school would not guarantee that its graduates would be able to lead the nation. According to Probo, who was a Taman Siswa teacher in the 1950s, Moerdani's proposal is not relevant in a Pancasila society which does not treat people with or without extraordinary achievements differently. Probo, who is President Soeharto's half-brother, added that Adolf Hitler, the German dictator, once had had the same idea, but failed to materialize it. In advanced countries, such as the U.S., Britain, West Germany, and Japan, such a school does not

Golkar is a big ship owned by many people. So each big decision has to reflect their aspirations. The coming Munas will further consolidate Golkar's ideals, ideas, and organization so that this big Golkar will be more rooted and more firm. "A Golkar of this sort has to be in line with the spirit of struggle at the time of its birth." The Munas will be accountable to history. (This gambit theoretically ought to bring Suhardiman to the fore. That would be a major surprise.) (JW)

Deputy Secretary General of PDI Dimmy Haryanto told **Jawa Pos** that if it were true the age limit for gubernatorial candidates would be set at 60, there should be a regulation to this effect so that no one's rights were diminished. Director General of Public Administration and Regional Autonomy Atar Sibero told **Jawa Pos** there was indeed the possibility of such an age limit. Law No. 5 of 1974, he said, did not fix a maximum age for Governors or District Heads/Mayors but only minimum ages of 35 and 30 respectively. But there should be a policy on a maximum age limit of, say, 60 years (at start of term). This wouldn't mean someone a day over 60 couldn't become a Governor. "Basically, there would be flexibility." An age limit would not be absolute. It had a connection with the health factor (increasingly a real consideration with several sick Governors only nominally in office). Someone could be under 60 and not meet the health criterion. Asked about the background to all this, Atar said it was inseparable from the process of regeneration. "At the top, the process of regeneration is always being discussed." (JW)

MAY 30 (Hon.)

Just 4 days after being installed as Director General of Corrections in the Justice Department, Dr. H. Baharuddin Lopa S.H. made a sudden inspection Friday afternoon of Cipinang Prison. Then just after midnight (by then Saturday), he inspected Salemba prison. (Cipinang is formally a Correctional Institution and Salemba a Detention Center.) At Cipinang he found that the allocation of drinking water for a prisoner at mealtime was just about 200 cubic centimeters. Prison Head Soewito B. Sc. told him that this deficiency was due to insufficient fuel to boil more water. Several convicts told Lopa that the food was good, but when Lopa went into the cells unaccompanied by prison officials, he got complaints instead. There wasn't enough drinking water. The amount of rice and side dishes was insufficient. Occasionally, servings were raw. This was due to cost limits imposed by the Justice Minister. Knowing this, Lopa said there should be at least more soybean cake and salt fish. He also asked for more condiments (sambal). "This is not an order." Lopa was very moved at seeing detainee Mahmud Safri in the prison hospital. The youth, 26, was threatened by total blindness. His left eye was not functioning at all because of cornea damage caused by blows and kicks during his preliminary interrogation. His right eye now had blurred vision. Lopa asked the Prison Head to discuss with the prison doctor immediate treatment or an operation for Mahmud. He would be awaiting a report. Mahmud told Lopa that the charge of murdering a lecturer lodged against him was slander. The real murderer had already confessed under separate interrogation. At Salemba, Lopa was very moved by the suffering of the detainees. There are 14 blocks of cells. Each block has only one toilet. His post-midnight inspection revealed "a war of smells." Inmates urinated in bottles and defecated in plastic sacks. They kept all this filth near the mat they slept on. "We're a civilized nation, but these facts contradict it. We are slovenly (jorok) and inhumane," said Lopa, almost in a whisper. Those who wanted to pray could not do so because they couldn't cleanse themselves. "We are obstructing their religious observances," he complained. (KO)

Attorney General Sukarton said the Junior Attorney General for Special Crimes covered crimes like smuggling, corruption, subversion, and violation of territorial waters. In handling such matters, the Junior Attorney General had direct authority to undertake investigations. In the field of corription, findings of the Finance and Development Supervisory Board (BPKP) would be thoroughly tackled. The just installed incumbent Singgih S.H. is not a new face. His career has been in prosecutorial ranks since 1960 after he completed his law studies at Universitas Airlangga. Among the offices he has held have been public prosecutor positions in that financial assistance of Rp. 14.5 million (a pittance) provided SPSI by the International Labor Organization (ILO) was too little. This was similar to the amount the ILO provided SPSI in the prior year. He admitted that Indonesia has often been criticized in ILO forums for limiting labor freedoms and use of child labor. He claimed that because most child labor occurred in the informal sector, SPSI was "not entitled to interfere with the problem directly." (Cooperatives, however, do manage to operate in the informal sector.) (JP)

JUNE 7 (Tues.)

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters that Portuguese President Mario Soares' allegation at a conference of newly-restored democracies in Manila on Saturday that Indonesia's intervention in East Timor had stopped the decolonization process was "crude disinformation" and "a total distortion of facts." Alatas said it was "world knowledge" that the process stopped when the Portuguese government left the island abruptly in August 1975 and a civil war broke out. "This kind of statement does nothing to improve understanding of the situation." Indonesia had become "rather used to this two-faced attitude of the Portuguese" for at least the past 3 years. "On one hand they are saying they want a peaceful and honorable settlement. On the other hand they are making all kinds of statements in all kinds of forums along the same (Manila) line." "The question now is, what do they really want." Although the tri-partite U.N. channel was still open (the U.N. Secretary General, not Fretilin/UDT, is the third party), no new negotiations between the 2 countries' representatives had been made this year. According to **Pembaruan's** rewritten story (published 2 days after the AFP despatch), Soares also said that the integration of East Timor into Indonesia was not in line with the wishes of the people of East Timor. In a **Jakarta Post** rewrite of the same original AFP despatch, Alatas is quoted as saying, "For some time we have kept silent. But if we continue to do so while they continue to manipulate facts, people who don't know the reality could gradually come to believe them." "The local (Indonesian) press seems to have become bored with the news (about East Timor's integration into Indonesia)." "For us it is over." The **Post** adds its own comment to the despatch. "Internally both Soares and Cavaco Silva do not know how to remove the Indonesian province of East Timor from the Portuguese map and Constitution amidst pressure from nagging members of Parliament." (AG/PB/JP)

JUNE 8 (WED.) - President Soeharto is 67 today. The State Secretariat's Public Relations Office said there would be no (official) celebration of the President's birthday, though he was congratulated by Vice President Sudharmono and Ministers during a limited Economy, Finance, and Industry (Ekuin) Cabinet meeting. Those who wish to send greetings were invited instead to contribute to the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI). (PB)

Asked about the truth of reports that Maj. Gen. Soelarso, Director General of Immigration, had "gotten approval" (read: chosen by Soeharto) to become the next Governor of East Java, Interior Minister Rudini said firmly, "I don't know." His Department never gave approval to candidates for Governor. It had no such provisions. It was the Area DPR which proposed nominees. Rudini admitted it was customary for the ABRI Commander to permit an ABRI member to become a candidate for Governor, but only after there was a proposal from an Area DPR. (JW)

UI economist and Director of the Inter-University Center Dr. Iwan Jaya Azis told a seminar that a study showed over 60% of new UI Economics Faculty students chose the faculty because many of its graduates had become Ministers or other high officials. But Economics Faculty enrollment figures over the last 10 years showed that 90% of the students enrolled in the Management Department, not the Development Studies or Accountancy Departments. "In these 2 pictures there is a contradiction," said Iwan. It was the latter 2 departments which had produced so many Ministers. After about 3 semesters, the students become aware of the tough competition in which friends compete against friends for the few high-level positions there really are. So they accommodate themselves to the job market. They change their idols from the Ministers to the managers who drive a Mercy (Mercedes) or other press. Readers are often left to spot the personal name/s of the President's son/s and/or daughter/s in determining why these stories are newsworthy.) (ED)

JUNE 25 (Sat.)

Meeting in Portugal, the Nationalist Convergence of UDT and Fretilin marked their 14th anniversaries. Abilio Araujo, head of Fretilin's External Delegation, and Moises da Costa Amaral, President of UDT's Political Commission, spoke. Abilio Araujo said, "Fretilin has already affirmed that it was not seeking exclusive representation of the East Timorese people.... We must recognize, to be clear, the previous existence of radical positions in the heart of our movement (an apparent reference to exclusivity claims before the 1986 alliance with UDT)." Moises Amaral described the basis for a negotiated end to the war. "(1) Recognition by the Indonesian authorities of the Timorese people's inalienable right to self-determination and independence. (2) Holding of productive talks between Indonesia and Portugal with a view to defining an internationally viable plan aimed at the decolonization of East Timor. (3) Recognition by the Indonesian authorities, supported by the same position held by Portugal, of the Nationalist Convergence as legitimate representative of the Timorese people." He also refers to former UDT positions. "Perhaps, by our actions in the past, we were the cause of the civil war which broke out in Timor.... I ask, therefore, that hand in hand with Fretilin militants, we collaborate in the search for a viable solution for the good of our country and our people." (ET)

Ambassador Pinto da Franca who prior to 1975 was in charge of Portuguese affairs in Jakarta will assume duties as itinerant Ambassador for East Timor Affairs. Rui Quartin Santos continues in charge of the East Timor question at the Portuguese Foreign Affairs Ministry. The Ministry announced that all Portuguese embassies would receive a Government Memorandum on East Timor aimed at strengthening greater awareness of the problem in countries with which Portugal maintains diplomatic relations. (ET)

JUNE 26 (SUN.) - Health Minister Dr. Adhyatma M.P.H. made a sudden large-scale reshuffle of the top leadership in his Department yesterday. Secretary General Navy Commander Drs. H. Soekaryo was replaced by Dr. Moch. Harly Suradi S.K.M., formerly head of the Health Department's East Java office. Inspector General Brig. Gen. Dr. KRH Mardjono Poerbonegoro was replaced by Dr. H. Mohammad Isa, formerly Director General of Medical Services. Mardjono remains as an Expert Staffer. Director General of Medical Services Dr. H. Mohammad Isa was replaced by Dr. Broto Wasisto M.P.H., formerly Head of the Planning Bureau (directly under the Secretary General). Director General of Public Health Guidance Dr. Soeyono Yahya M.P.H. was replaced by Dr. S.L. Leimena, formerly Director General for Combatting Contagious Diseases and for Settlement Sanitation (also Adhyatma's old position). Soeyono remains an Expert Staffer. Director General for Combatting Contagious Diseases and for Settlement Sanitation Dr. S. L. Leimena was replaced by Dr. Gandung Hartono (Adhyatma's former Secretary when he was Director General and most recently an Expert Staffer). Adhyatma made no speeches during the installation. "The President installed his Ministers without a speech," he said. Adhyatma also told reporters there would now be a collective leadership encompassing all Echelon I officials. He would act as team leader. He joked that "clean and competent" government "doesn't only mean washing your hands twice. You have to be honest." Creating clean and competent machinery was "not hard if the will exists." (Only the Director General of Food and Drug Control was spared. Otherwise, Adhyatma swept out of office the remaining 2 military figures who held down the Secretary Generalship and Inspector Generalship. Adhyatma himself replaced Maj. Gen. (Ret.) Dr. Soewardjono Soerjaningrat. The latter appears to have been personally responsible for keeping the 2 top posts under him in ABRI hands since ABRI Headquarters seems to have raised no objection to this complete civilianization of the highest level positions in Health by promoting career officials. Broto and Gandung do not appear to be military.) (PB/KO)

Former Kodam II/Bukit Barisan Head of Finance Lt. Col. (Finance Corps) Muchtar Nasution was sentenced to 9 years imprisonment and fined Rp. 30 million for over the country. A prime consideration in his being selected for the Governorship appears to be that he is a native son of South Sumatera, albeit with limited limitary experience in South Sumatera itself. His predecessor, Brig. Gen. (Ret.) Sainan Sagiman, is also a native son but had much more experience in civilian roles as well as extensive military experience in South Sumatera itself.) (PB)

Azhar Achmad S.H., 45, founder of the Kosgoro Legal Aid and Development Institute, died in Jakarta of liver disease. For most of his life, he served as legal advisor to the Jakarta branch of the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI). (TE)

July 16 (Sat.)

Jayakarta began a daily series of impressions of Indonesian journalists who have reported on East Timor's integration into Indonesia. "This July 17, it will be 12 years that the province of East Timor has been integrated into Indonesia. One of the jobs of the press at that time was to shape world opinion that Indonesia didn't have territorial ambitions to intervene or take the former Portuguese colony by force. But we also didn't want to reject the desires of the people of East Timor to again join the Republic because their ethnic history is that of the Indonesian nation. About 20 reporters from Jakarta covered the start of East Timor's integration. Among others, they were Harry Kawilarang, George Aditjondro, Gerson Poyk, Hendro Subroto, Pattiradjawane, Ekram Atamimi, Aco Manafe, Paul Amalo, Daud Sinyal, Panda Nababan, Syahrir Wahab, Valens Doy, Chris Kelana, Djumarjo, Herry Suharwo, Sofyan Effendi Lubis, Syarif Prawoto, Joop Pandie, Ansel da Lopaz, and Peter A. Rohl (spellings as printed). There were also foreign reporters like Peter Rodgers, Peter Hastings, and Hamish McDonald. Here is the experience of Harry Kawilarang, former **Sinar Harapan** reporter, who gave his impressions while bedded in Cikini Hospital." East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) Governor El Tari gave moral support to press workers going there (to or toward East Timor, from Kupang). "Our mission is first to invite them (East Timorese) to integrate culturally," suggested El Tari after the April 1974 military coup d'etat in Portugal. "If they can accept Indonesia culturally, I feel it won't be hard to draw them toward total integration," said El Tari. Harry "landed" in Dili in early May 1974. According to Harry, some world political observers had been making wrong judgments about the views of the East Timorese people. Some thought the East Timorese could never join and remain loyal to the Republic of Indonesia. But the emergence of 3 big parties in East Timor suggested there were those who felt pro and con about Portugal. "Most of the youth there longed to shelter below the red and white," said Harry. That's why his reporting in **Sinar Harapan** opened the world's eyes. Other Indonesian reporters began to compete to go there. East Timor quickly heated up. Combat was unavoidable. "My role was to open the eyes of the world so it would act justly on the fate of East Timor which was undecided." **Jayakarta** said some described Harry as rendering service in East Timor's integration into Indonesia. "Don't talk to me about 'service,' Bung," stated Harry firmly. Some of the deaths of East Timorese could probably have been avoided. "Some of the population flocked to us." Jose Ramos Horta of the then Timorese Social Democratic Association (ASDT) asked Harry's aid. "Help us," said Horta (reportedly) to Harry, "we want to join Indonesia." "I am not a communist. How could I be a communist when my father was murdered by a communist?" Horta (reportedly) asked Harry. Probably there had been a misundertsanding till then. ASDT, the group which later became Fretilin, had been thought to adhere to communist thought. When this news was announced, there was conflict among the parties and battles raged. Harry still remembers when Horta asked for his help so that the Indonesian government would be kind toward them. "Sorry, I can't do very much. I am only a reporter," replied Harry. Harry explained to Horta that his role as a reporter was separate from political affairs. But finally Harry was also satisfied when Horta went "desperately" ("nekad," quotes in text) to Jakarta in May 1974. From that moment, a fresh wind about East Timor's integration into Indonesia began to blow. (An accompanying inside editorial congratulated East Timor on its 12th year of integration and suggested that East Timor's recently deceased first Apodeti Governor Arnaldo does Reis Araujo had been overlooked in the Indonesian press and was really "a hero of integration." Horta writes in his autobiographical book **Funu** that prior to the coup in Portugal, he acted as "his group's"—presumably the budding ASDT—liaison with the Indonesian consul in Dili, E.M. Tomodok. "Indonesia was assumed to be sympathetic to any nationalist movement in East Timor." Horta records no trip to Jakarta before June 1974. En route, he met El Tari whom he then assessed to be "decidedly sympathetic to an independent East Timor," possibly as part of El Tari's rumored dream of "a united independent East Timor." But then El Tari assigned his nephew, Louis Taolin, a Bakin agent, to escort him to Jakarta. Horta acknowledges he was assisted in Jakarta by **Tempo** and **Sinar Harapan** reporters in obtaining a meeting with then Foreign Minister Adam Malik who gave him a widely publicized statement seemingly favoring an independent East Timor.) (JK)

JULY 17 (SUN.) - President Soeharto held a reception for Attorney General Soekarton and public prosecutors throughout Indonesia who had just held their 1988 Working Meeting July 11-15. In brief remarks, the President stressed the need to realize an Indonesia based on laws and not on pure power. The upholding of law and justice was growing more pressing as the current Five Year Plan approached its end. "If the public feels it is not protected by law and feels there are injustices, then the effort of the nation to further development will meet obstacles." "A negative image for the machinery of state will bring with it a far-reaching impact." The public will come to lack confidence in the government's authority, all the more so if this negative image attaches itself to the upholders of justice. "The hope of the public in getting justice will fade away." The public will become dissapointed and lose its strong desire for development. (These are fairly characteristic Soeharto remarks on the subject. More significant in current context is Soeharto's show of solidarity with Sukarton and his men in face of the "red scare" tactics used by some Army men to put some sort of rein on Sudharmono and his hand-chosen bureaucratic allies like Sukarton.) (KO)

PDI General Chairman Soeryadi and Secretary General Nico Daryanto have appointed 8 lawyers to represent them in court in connection with Yusuf Merukh's suit. The team is led by Djupri S.H., a DPR PDI faction member. The 8 lawyers come from Jakarta, Bandung, and Semarang. A.J. Lumban Gaol S.H., who successfully obtained a 2 week postponement of the next court session in Yusuf's suit, told reporters that 8 lawyers were chosen because of the probability of other suits in various regions. He explained that Djupri asked them all to defend Soeryadi and Nico. Apart from the suit filed in Malang, there could be others by "Marsoesi's group" in East Java and by Dudy Singadilaga in West Java. (JW)

General Chairman of the Indonesian Muslim Scholars Council (MUI) K.H. Hasan Basri told reporters that MUI and other Islamic social organizations wished to consult with the government about the National Education Bill which, he said, left the existence of religious schools "up in the air." "The Broad Guidelines of State Policy (GBHN) clearly provide for the existence of religious education from primary school through university, but the Bill does not mention this explicitly." MUI worries that the replacement of the term "religious education" with "education for piety" may be a basic policy change toward making religion just the teaching of values. Piety is only a part of Islamic teachings. The Bill also does not make clear the position of madrasahs. (JW)

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involved in G30S/PKI. Indonesian university students abroad who were PKI cadres had also re-entered Indonesia illegally. These were T. Darmono, Sabungan Simanjuntak, and A. Ruchiat (as printed, presumably detained but not yet known to have been brought to trial). The penetration movement did not mean just physical penetration but ideological penetration as well carried out by authors who were associated before with the Institute of People's Culture (Lekra). They penetrated by writing and publishing books which slipped in communist, Marxist, and Leninist thought in a refined manner. "The names of these authors are Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Poeradisastra, and F.R. Wahono Nitiprawiro." (The thrust of Try Soetrisno's testimony was that Indonesian communists were under control, while the thrust of Benny Moerdani's testimony was that they had occasionally gotten momentarily out of control. Moerdani had essentially adopted Try Soetrisno's position in prior statements, possibly because his motives might have been suspect and attributed to his rivalry with Sudharmono. Now that Sudharmono, with Soeharto and Sudomo's support, has sought, fairly successfully, to counter the active duty Army on this issue by simply jumping aboard the bandwagon and launching a few "anti-communist" initiatives of his own, Moerdani apparently feels the initial target of the issue has become sufficiently obfuscated that he can personally push it further along. This marked change in Moerdani's stance suggests there will be efforts by at least his allies within the Army minimally to deny Sudharmono further political gains. We do not believe the current anti-communist "crusade" is targeted so much at former political detainees or their children, though it will affect many of them adversely, as it is a matter of conflictual politics—in Soeharto's inner core—over which he has less than complete control.) (PB)

Four DPR Commissions for the first time held simultaneous sessions which discussed the KSOB and TSSB lotteries. Commission I met with Information Minister Harmoko, Commission II with Director General for Public Administration and Regional Autonomy (in Interior Department) Atar Sibero, Commission VIII with all 3 Directors General in the Social Affairs Department, and Commission IX with the All Indonesia Soccer Association (PSSI). Harmoko explained that TVRI had no intention of airing advertisements as a replacement for KSOB and TSSB funds. Atar Sibero called for an independent study of the impact of KSOB and TSSB. "We want plainspoken reports, not reports which say everything is just fine." The Social Affairs Echelon I officials were pressed by Moehammad Baidhowi of PPP to explain in whose name KSOB funds were deposited and the total value of these deposits now. He got no specific reply. The Social Affairs Minister would make a further statement. (JW/KO)

Deputy Chairman of the East Java GAMKI H.J.A. Djarnawi said the selection of several GAMKI leaders as PDI leaders was a matter of the individuals involved. "PDI has no interest in 'PDI'ing' (mem-PDI-kan) GAMKI or other youth social organizations of the same sort, as organizations." Djarnawi made the comment because of concerns in the East Java GAMKI that there were now PDI efforts to do precisely that. Djarnawi admitted to some "squatting" by GAMKI leaders in PDI. At the Central Leadership Council (DPP) level, there was, for example, GAMKI General Chairman Dr. Sukowaluyo and GAMKI Chairman Parulian Silalahi. Djarnawi accepted that several leaders of social organizations which had once become a sort of undergirding for PDI were now in PDI in line with its openness and acceptance of Pancasila as sole principle. But East Java PDI Chairman Fonomero Ziraluo alias Fonzir stressed that in its coming congress GAMKI's leaders would not be allowed to become leaders in the political organizations. (JW)

JULY 19 (Tues)

Covering wars or whatever you want call them is nothing special for TVRI mainstay reporter Hendro Subroto. He likes to live dangerously. He won't admit to ever being scared in the midst of combat. When he covered East Timor's integration, he felt he also shouldered duties of state. "At that time we were responsible for shaping the world's image that the East Timorese public really wanted to integrate with Indonesia," Hendro told Herling T. of **Jayakarta**. Then his journalistic conscience emerged. "How to get the data and facts which could support our mission personally made my brain spin. I could not just become a mouthpiece (corong) voicing impressions. I had to have supporting data." With some others, Hendro set out for Dili in March 1975. They took a ferry from the border town of Batugade. This was deliberately timed to coincide with the arrival of a British commercial ship in Dili's harbor. The problem was that Dili then had only 20,000 residents. "A newcomer would certainly be found out," said Hendro. So he pretended to be a clerk (kerani). He succeeded in seeing and feeling directly that the people really wanted to integrate with Indonesia. Those desires were written on walls and banners. He also heard arguments. He also had a chance to "spy" (mengintip) on the Portuguese soldiers composed of the local-born Black Portuguese (Topas). He saw them taking down a flag. He had to honestly admit they looked terrific as professional soldiers. "It was very said that such fine soldiers had to die on the battlefield." His report complete with pictures of the walls and banners was broadcast on TVRI. In June and July 1974 he saw about 300 East Timorese cross into Indonesia. At that point all he got was pure facts of which he could make nothing. But he saw how great was the welcome of the Indonesian people for their brothers. They gave food, medicine, clothing, education, and especially the Indonesian language. When Fretilin later began to fight the East Timorese who wanted integration, Hendro went in and out of the forest with the Apodeti and UDT troops. He recorded incidents of battle with high news value. He paid no heed to bullets until one day he was wounded in the hand by a Fretilin soldier. For 3 months he stayed with the troops led by Lopes da Cruz, the UDT party leader who chose guerrilla tactics to fight Fretilin's troops. He was impressed by Lopes' bravery and his wife and children carrying rifles and fighting on the battlefield. Hendro also covered—and participated in—spreading 20,000 pamphlets in forests and villages inviting the people of East Timor not to fight any more. The pamphlets also promised amnesty. (JK)

JULY 20 (WED.) - Universitas Nasional (Unas) Faculty of Social and Political Sciences student Ruswandi wrote to the thrice-monthly news feature magazine **Vista** (majority of shares held by FKPPI proxy Surya Paloh, who employs here laid-off staffers of the banned **Prioritas**, which he also controlled for FKPPI). "On September 5, 1985, I set foot on Universitas Nasional, managed by Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana.... I felt I knew him since primary school days as one of the new 'men of letters' (pujangga baru).... He is known as an intellectual, an academic, a philosopher. Many judge him to be a democrat. But finally, my admiration has disappeared.... In mid-September 1987, thousands of students gathered in a field for their 'Trituma' (Tiga Tuntutan Mahasiswa, Three Student Demands): lower tuition, improved academic infrastructure, open management. This was the start of an explosion which goes on till this very moment. Three students in their personal capacities later accused Takdir in his capacity as Unas Rector. That May 9, 1988 was history for Unas.... Flare-up after flare-up has occurred at Unas. Some have fallen as casualties. These three—Imran Zein Rolas, Petrus Barus, Nurdin Fadli—were suspended for two semesters. Then the Student Press Institute (LPM, Lembaga Pers Mahasiswa) which had previously only been suspended was dissolved. Takdir, the Unas power holder, closed his eyes and heart. Criticism of him was regarded as taboo and a great sin. The concepts of NKK/BKK became his invulnerable weapon for paralyzing the students' forces.... Takdir clearly is no democrat. He has fortified himself against external criticism. Unas is his arena for playing games. The campus has become a joke, an hallucination. Differences of opinion are considered dangerous. The LPM was the embyo of **Politika**, a magazine and communications forum for political science studies.... It also published the student paper **Solidaritas**, muzzled after three issues.... In February 1988, the magazine **Mimbar Mahasiswa** appeared to replace **Solidaritas**.... Takdir dissolved the LPM on July 6, 1988. This great man provided no rational reason, only prejudice. He charged LPM with involvement in toppling him as Rector because the three students who accused him were from LPM.... The students succeeded in lowering tuition fees. I bear testimony that Takdir will lose again. (VS) authorities, just came to believe it after a report on the congress appeared in a Semarang daily. One Yogya daily was still debating whether to carry any story on it. The Yogya security machinery is still not truly convinced the congress occurred. "Who knows, it could have been just a meeting in a room which was later said to be a congress," said Subali, of Yogya Police Intelligence and Security (Intelpam). HMI Yogya branch staffer Trisdi Windhu, an Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) student, was asked for a statement by the authorities. Trisdi told them he didn't know a thing and had just gotten some information from **Kompas** and **Panjimas** correspondents. But the authorities rejected the suggestion that a congress was held under false pretenses without a permit. They could not take any action until they were convinced a congress had positively occurred. A **Panjimas'** source said the congress was held in a modest and intimate manner, not in a hotel, hall, or villa but in a private home. A different source said the congress was not held in Kaliurang but in Wonosari, 42 kilometers southeast of Yogya. Outgoing MPO General Chairman Eggie Sudjana, who teaches at Universitas Ibnu Khaldun in Bogor, told the congress that HMI was no longer independent and tended to be used by vested interests as a stepping stone to nicer jobs. "We don't like HMI being sold," said Eggie, who described the 16th HMI congress in Padang as "the Sole Principle Congress." But he admitted that the split was caused more by the absence of dialogue in the decision to accept Pancasila as HMI's principle. His side remained open to dialogue. Dr. Victor Tanja, a priest who wrote his dissertation on HMI, told **Panjimas** that HMI had never produced any deep religious thinking in the 1980s such as occurred in the previous decade with Nurcholish Madjid and Dawam Rahardjo. That was possible because there was freedom of thought in the transition period from the Old to the New Order. Now people feared expressing opinions. Anything out of line could be regarded as subversive. (PM)

On the occasion of his 80th birthday, Mohammad Natsir told **Panjimas** in an interview, "I am optimistic now. In our young generation, new Prophet Johns (Nabi Yahya) have begun to appear. In campus circles, in study groups, in pesantrens, I see many prospective Johns.... We see that these Johns don't yet want to step forward. This depends on timing.... There were the politics of Soekarno, the Old Order, the New Order. Those times didn't assist the growth of new religious scholars (ulama). Almost all of us were busy with things which didn't support the field of caderization of ulama who could lead the people. But it will not go on this way. God willing, the ages revolve, the seasons change." (PM)

JULY 21 (thurs)

After delays and talks with President of the Republic Mario Soares, (the Assembly of the Republic) has finally formulated a reply to the Indonesian DPR's invitation to visit Indonesia. The reply will be channeled through the U.N. and its content only made public after reaching its destination. According to unconfirmed reports, the letter reaffirms the right of East Timor's people to self-determination, expresses interest in visiting East Timor and not Indonesia, and concludes that the specific conditions set (for the visit) by the Assembly should be discussed in New York within the U.N. framework. (This is a less than clear English translation, originating with **East Timor News/Informacoes Timor-leste,** of a July 1 story in the Portuguese **O Jornal.**) (ET)

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blood tests in Bali and Jakarta shortly after the man was admitted to the hospital in serious condition with apparent brain damage. The patient found it hard to communicate so could not provide details about his sickness. The probability was that he was homosexual, and that his sexual partner was a Swiss man who faithfully came to keep watch over him in the hospital, which Suriadi would also not identify. **Editor** wrote that the AIDS victim, whose initials were FR, was born in Manado and had lived in Bali since 1980 working in a Kuta candy company. (KO/ED)

State Secretary Moerdiono installed several Assistants to the Vice President. They include A.F. Wirasoetisna M.A., Assistant for Political and Security Affairs; Drs. Israwan, Assistant for People's Welfare, and Drs. Soeprapto, Assistant for Supervision. (There are 5 key posts in the Office of the Vice President, a Secretary and 4 Assistants. At least the first two appointments appear to be promotions of persons who worked for Vice President Umar. However, the first appointment removes a '45 generation officer, Erman Harirustaman, who served as Director General of Social and Political Affairs in the Interior Department from 1973 to 1980.) (PB)

Forestry Minister Hasjrul Harahap told reporters that in the 5th Five Year Plan (1989-94) diversification of work and intensification of forest product industries would be stressed. The foresty sector was projected as able to absorb 2.5 million workers, about 25% of the increase in the work force during the coming Plan years. The greatest absorption of manpower—about 2 million persons—would occur in industrial forest crops. The rest would be involved in reforestation on land owned by the people, the Indonesian selective felling system, and other areas. Reforestation would be increased. This would normalize land again hydrologically and provide raw material for the timber industry. (KO)

JULY 22 (Fri)

Valens Doy was pleased when as a green journalist he was assigned by **Kompas** to cover East Timor's integration into Indonesia. Before joining **Kompas**, he had worked for the children's magazine **Bobo**. He was on assignment from August through November 1975. "I had a deep personal emotional interest in the job there. I was reporting on my people, the people of Nusa Tenggara," said Valens, born on Flores in 1942. He worked 24 hours a day. "We had to, otherwise we wouldn't get anything." He often had to walk and hitch rides to file stories in Kupang, 200 kilometers from the border. There were 2 groups of reporters there, "government reporters" and "non-government reporters." Valens and his friends from **Sinar Harapan, Pikiran Rakyat, Merdeka,** and **Tempo** were in this second group who had to struggle to get news and find ways of sending it to Jakarta as quickly as possible. Sometimes he secretly used the services of Antara. Those coming across the border into Indonesia clearly needed help. He interviewed UDT and Apodeti figures and other sources. The "other news" he got there was "the case of the shooting of the Australian journalists who were covering a battle between Fretilin and the integration volunteer fighters." He was the only reporter assigned there who dared to make the report which caused a great commotion among many parties, not only the Indonesian government but the world which had heretofore closed its eyes and now began to regard seriously the struggle of the East Timorese people. Courageously, he reported the actual shooting (dor-dor-an). He himself was very afraid to look at the corpses. Reporting East Timor was "a golden opportunity" for a sports reporter like himself. (These stories at least have the virtue of identifying particular reports which anyone researching the early stages of the war ought to examine. There are precious few such citations in the more well-known accounts in English.) (JK)

JULY 23 (SAT.) - **Editor** interviewed Justice Minister Ismail Saleh. **Q:** Why such a firm attitude on holding back the Legal Aid Bill if the Indonesian Advocates League (Ikadin) does not become a sole body? **A:** "The government provides legal aid. Legal advisors carry it out. Just imagine it. How can we channel a legal aid budget if advocates are not joined in one body? And some have no body at all. Who can we expect to see that the legal aid budget really reaches its targets if the advocates are all split? We also analyze the position of legal advisors in the Legal Aid Bill. For

Mangindaan, Brig. Gen. Drs. Sadiman Paimo, Brig. Gen. F.X. Sudjasmin, Brig. Gen. Moelyadi, Air Commander Andaya Lestari, Air Commander Mas Susilo, and Police Brig. Gen. Drs. Anton S. Tifaona. (KO)

Maj. Gen. Soelarso, Director General of Immigration, has obtained 78 of the 90 votes cast for Governor in the East Java DPR. Soelarso was nominated by the Golkar faction and supported by the 3 other factions. (PB)

Hasanai Abdullah, 44, speaking in Palangka Raya to reporters on behalf of 450 traditional Central Kalimantan gold miners, said the miners were restless because they had been required by a Mining Public Order Team to stop work and had not been given any alternatives. These miners in the Tewah area of Kapuas District had already formed a cooperative and repeatedly sought permits as people's miners (which would exempt them from eviction from their sites and allow them up to 5 hectares each to prospect). "We know about the regulations, but we haven't gotten our rights." The Tewah people have been mining for generations. They had only started having difficulties since the gold mining company PT DC (initials) came to their area in 1970. They thought that in 1979 they had worked out an agreement with the company. But now it had changed its name to PT TP (initials) and claimed that the prior agreement no longer was binding, even though PT TP's managers were the same persons as in PT DC. The mining company was not active now in their area. A number of reporters went to the site and verified this. A company official who is also a Central Kalimantan DPR member said this was because use of dynamite was necessary in the exploratory stage to break up rock formations, a process which could harm the people in the vicinity. Deputy Governor Victor Phaing who is Chairman of the Mining Public Order Team said he didn't know anything about the problem in Tewah. The matter had been delegated to district level officials. (PB)

Investment Department Chairman Suryo B. Sulisto of the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin) told **Kompas** that Irian Jayan businessmen were unprepared for the arrival of capital businessmen who had come to ask them to cooperate in developing the area. They thought the 35 Jakarta businessmen were only bringing capital for them. "Business is not so simple as they think. We didn't come like Santa Claus (sinterklas) to dole out presents." Other Jakarta businessmen contacted by **Kompas** expressed similar views. "Some of them still act like traders, while others don't understand anything about banking," said Krisna Wubowo, Director of PT Promosindo Midia Tenaga. Nonetheless, about 50 agreements (44 Jayapura, 6 Biak) were signed between the Jakarta and Irian Jayan businessmen, more than the 38 signed in Maluku. (KO)

JULY 25 (Hori)

Aco Manafe, born on Rote Island in 1944, was just a young reporter for **Sinar Harapan** when he was first assigned to cover East Timor in 1974. That year he interviewed Apodeti Secretary General, Mario Osorio Soares. In 1975 he was invited to a meeting in Bali with Kodam XVI/Udayana Commander Brig. Gen. Ign. Pranoto and told about refugees coming out of East Timor. He went to Wekusi (as spelled), a border area. The report was true. He filed 2 stories. He also told his Deputy Chief Editor, Sabam Siagian, that something would happen in in August. On August 11, he heard on Radio Australia that UDT had taken over the government but there was resistance from Fretilin. He rented a boat and went in. He saw the cruelty of war with his own eyes. Burned villages. Innocent people who had been tortured, including the Mayor of Dili. He managed to get out by air. Between 1974 and 1982 he went back and forth to East Timor about 20 times. Once in 1980 he and now **Jayakarta** Managing Editor Peter Rohi were passing through a Fretilin-controlled area on their way home and their car got stuck crossing a river. Peter, who was accustomed to leading troops in combat, listened for tell-tale noises while Aco as quietly as possible salvaged the car. Later **Sinar Harapan** assigned him to battlefields in New Hebrides and then Beirut. (There is very little about Aco's stories or views. He apparently knows a lot. But he didn't tell **Jayakarta** very much. Asked for personal data, he only told **Jayakarta**, "Just say I have one child, a girl, studying in Australia.) (JK) frame laws with the concurrence of the DPR, not the other way round. So all legal products, such as laws, are the product of the government. The DPR retains the right of initiative in proposing laws, but this has not been used since 1971. There are 3 reasons. Bills proposed by the DPR go through more a complex process and procedures compared to bills proposed by the government. The government has the greater capability to draft laws in terms of hardware and software. The executive has a better grasp of the material. "We had an experience in 1968 when the Broad Guidelines of State Policy (GBHN) were not prepared by the government but by the Provisional MPR members. By the time the session ended, the GBHN failed to materialize because there were so many opinions and so much input." Studied in depth, a government of this sort was not contrary to the 1945 Constitution. But it has to be admitted that a situation like this created the impression that the legislative body, the DPR, was inactive and toothless. (KO)

Brig. Gen. Warsito, 50, has obtained 33 of the 43 votes cast for Governor in the West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) DPR. Warsito was born in Banyumas, Central Java, in October 1939. He is a Special Forces Command (Kopassus) officer. He once was Chief of Staff of Kodam IX/Udayana, Commander of Kostrad's Division I, and Commander of the Operations Command fôr the Security of East Timor (Koopskam, Komando Operasi Keamanan Timor Timur, a position created by Gen. Moerdani upon his becoming ABRI Commander in 1983 and directly under him in the chain of command). At this moment Warsito is assigned to Army Headquarters. He will be installed as NTB Governor on August 30. (KO)

Kodam VII/Wirabuana (Sulawesi) Commander Maj. Gen. Rusmani Siddik installed Col. (Infantry) Karsono as Commander of Korem 132 headquartered in Palu. He replaces Col. (Infantry) Jasman Ismail who has been attending the National Defense Institute (Lemhannas) since April. Karsono previously commanded Korem 142 headquartered in Parepare. (KO)

July 26 (Tue)

When the report of UDT's coup broke, **Suara Karya** Chief Editor Djafar H. Assegaff called in reporter Ansel da Lopez and told him, "There is war in East Timor. I'm sending you there. I'm sure you'll be brave." That day the green 24-year old youth from Flores set out for Kupang. There was no way to get to Atambua. By chance some fellow reporters arrived and they chartered a plane to fly there. But then the agreement was deliberately cancelled on various pretexts. "Somebody was making it hard for us, but we didn't know who," said Ansel to **Jayakarta**'s Ati Rochiati and Herling T. But Ansel heard from a shop there was a rice truck going to Atambua. He hurriedly got on a bemo, left the city, intercepted the truck, and got a ride. On arrival, he discovered that to get to Motaain he had to have a passport and the immigration office would not guarantee the safety of any reporter because the border situation was bad. Finally, he found a kind immigration officer who told his colleagues not to give Ansel any trouble. It was market day when he got there. He stood out. Then UDT soldiers came by with grenades and rifles. Ansel sought out the most authoritative person there, a police sergeant named Victor Manuel. He introduced himself, "Jurnalista.... Indonesia." He'd heard that the Portuguese soldiers respected Indonesian reporters. Right on. Victor accepted Ansel as a friend, introduced him to the UDT figures, and invited him to Balibo, 17 kilometers from Batugade. Balibo was UDT headquarters. Ansel slept with Victor in UDT's arsenal there. Later Victor invited Ansel to see the Fretilin prisoners in the jail. Asked by **Jayakarta** his opinion of integration, Ansel said, "I still remember when I entered East Timor. On the road I saw old beer cans scattered around. The houses were only huts. It indicated disarray and the poverty of the people. Was this what the Portuguese left behind for the natives?" Ansel had to hold back a lot of things. "What can I do. I also have to highly respect nationalism, even though I have freedom as a reporter," retorted Ansel, who now works for **Kompas** and is assigned to the State Secretariat. (Possibly here is another of the very few "heretics" among the generally uninformed and jingoist Indonesian reporters whose stories dominated domestic East Timor coverage even from these early days.) (JK) the public about Golkar is that its leadership selection process seems undemocratic. In the past, many Golkar leaders were considered by the public to have emerged through improper mechanisms outside the rules of the game. This gave rise to terms like "pulley" (katrolan), "jumping the fence" (lompat pagar), and "dropping from above" (droping dari atas). Alfian had been asked to comment by **Kompas** on Golkar's ongoing Regional Deliberations. He thought there were still such influences in Golkar's new "bottom to top" leadership selection process though not on the same scale as before. It was really hard for the public to find out how Golkar leaders were actually being selected at Levels I and II. There were rumors the truth of which it was hard to check. But these rumors could influence the public's perception of Golkar. Some members of the public still saw Golkar as not autonomous and unable to develop healthy democratic mechanisms from within. All parties (pihak) should control themselves and not interfere too much in Golkar's Levels I and II Regional Deliberations. (This is a bit further than Alfian usually ventures these days. He would not be the first civil servant political scientist fired from LIPI for being too outspoken politically.) (KO)

PDI General Chairman Soeryadi told reporters that the (closed) PDI MPP meeting has given a full mandate to the PDI DPP supporting all DPP policies, including the expulsion and recall of 8 of its members in the DPR. Those who will be recalled are Teuku Thaib Ali (Aceh), Marsoesi (East Java), Soeparman Adiwidjaya (West Java), F.C. Palaoensuka (West Kalimantan), Dudy Singadilaga S.H. (West Java), Kemas Fachruddin (South Sumatera), M. Jusuf Merukh (West Java), and Achmad Subagio (Central Java). Achmad Subagio will be recalled because he is affected by the DPP's Decision 59/1986 which limits DPR membership to a maximum of 2 terms. Achmad is in his third term. "He didn't participate in the movement of Marsoesi and friends, but he has violated this other provision." A **Jawa Pos** source said Achmad had only been nominated in Central Java as a vote-getter but then refused to resign his spot and so was finally installed as a DPR member. The source said replacements for the 8 to be recalled had already been named in a formal decision prepared by PDI Secretary General Nico Daryanto. Among the replacements will be Djeniarso, Soeryadi's nephew, who is now a member of the Ponorogo DPR. He will replace Marsoesi. Djeniarso avoided reporters at the MPP. Kemas Fachruddin will be replaced by Dr. Safe'i (as printed) who is one of the South Sumatera PDI leaders. F.C. Palaoensuka will be replaced by Parulian Silalahi, an MPR member and Deputy Chairman of the PDI DPP. (JW/KO)

July 28 (Thurs)

Tempo reporter Syahrir Wahab likes to court danger. So he was disappointed when he landed in Timor in September and October 1975 and there were no bullets whistling by. There were just thousands of colonized people seeking their freedom. "Covering a war is not so easy as it is in the films," he said, smiling. He and friends liked to go to the front lines during the day, but at night they preferred a hotel in Atambua. "It wasn't such a nice hotel," he said, smiling again. He was dissatisfied because foreign reporters often had news which differed from what Indonesian reporters got. They had close ties with the religious (kaum agamawan) there. The Indonesian reporters also tended to stick together for reasons of money and safety. "We weren't promised any insurance. My wife was 7 months pregnant then." (JK)

JULY 29 (FRI.) - DPR/MPR Chairman Kharis Suhud installed several new members of the DPR and MPR (appointments previously reported). He then told reporters, "You have to remember that the job of the DPR is not to criticize government policies but to carry out supervision of the implementation of development." It had done this latter job well. If there was a complaint from the public about a specific government agency, the DPR leadership (as reported) forwarded it to the Minister involved. "This always brought a response." Kharis said that land cases represented the most frequent subject of public complaints to the DPR. The DPR leadership always worked to increase the quality of its members. "One of the ways I do this is to use the press." This is important because in order for dialogues between DPR Commissions and administration representatives to go smoothly, DPR members have to increase their quality. The Commissions have also been requested to invite specific experts in debating government bills. "I wish the DPR had a fully equipped 'kitchen' (dapur) to prepare materials needed by its members." But this was too expensive. So the DPR leadership has sought ways to increase operations at the DPR library. "We have worked to add good books." (In an earlier story, Kharis complained he had "begged" foreign ambassadors to donate books to the DPR library but that few DPR members used it.) (JW)

General Chairman of the Indonesian Muslim Scholars Council (MUI) K.H. Hasan Basri told **Amanah** that the public would not find out a lot of what was discussed in MUI meetings. "Not all things we work on have to be publicized." He admitted there were still those who considered MUI inattentive to the problems of the Muslim community. MUI General Secretary H.S. Prodjokusumo said this was a result of a conscious policy in handling troublesome problems, such as headscarves (jilbab), Porkas (Forecast soccer lottery), and the like. So it was natural if someone like K.H. Noor Alie, leader of the At-Taqwa Pesantren in Bekasi, said, "MUI now does not voice the aspirations of the Muslim community." Prodjokusumo admitted the impression was there that MUI was "silent in a thousand tongues." Yogya Muslim intellectual Dr. Ahmad Syafii Maarif said that MUI's recent policies were due to the political situation. MUI was not just a legitimator of government decisions but a corrector of them if they were contrary to religion. It was still important to have MUI, while hoping its operation could be enhanced. Men of moral courage were needed. Otherwise MUI's existence would be meaningless. He believed that the personal integrity of MUI leaders now was no less than the previous leaders. Many statements were being heard comparing the current leaders with those in Buya Hamka's time. "We will not defend ourselves," said K.H. Hasan Basri, humbly. (AH)

July 29 (Fri)

Jayakarta reporter Atie Rohani waited for hours to get an interview with Daud Sinyal who had once been sent by **Sinar Harapan** to cover East Timor. Daud was then its Managing Editor. We knew there were 3 forces, said Daud, slowly but surely. UDT was composed of colonial officials. They wanted independence through union with Portugal. He didn't think they were self-confident. There was ASDT which later became Fretilin. It was composed of young, radical intellectuals. Fretilin was confident it would get full independence without union with Indonesia because it got arms aid from the Black Portuguese (Tropaz). Apodeti was composed of common people led by their kings or tribal heads. It wanted integration with Indonesia. UDT made a coup because it felt a right to be master (juragan). But the coup didn't last long because they were unpopular and had little fighting spirit. Feudal attitudes were conspicuous. Fretilin assisted by the Black Portuguese carried out acts which were considered to endanger their neighbors like Indonesia. Daud managed to get a commercial airline (TAT) to fly him from Kupang to Dili airport which was controlled by UDT. So he was able to report on the UDT coup. The story was carried in **Sinar Harapan** and abroad, he said proudly. He later provided a picture of the serious situation in East Timor to the Commander of Kowilhan I who had come to see the flow of refugees into Indonesia. They were not just the common people but also the equivalent of district and sub-district heads and landlords. Since a physical threat to Indonesia could occur, Daud was not surprised that troops were concentrated at the border. (Definitely not the official line.) (JK)

Indonesia News Service is a twice-weekly bulletin of INDONESIA PUBLICATIONS. **Editor** - John A. MacDougall. Prepaid annual subscription rates for 104 issues are $174 in the U.S., $178 Canada, and $231 elsewhere. **Indonesia News Service** may be freely quoted, but any re-printing of a significant portion of its contents should have the prior written agreement of the editor. Address all correspondence to INDONESIA PUBLICATIONS, 7538 Newberry Lane, Lanham-Seabrook, Maryland 20706, U.S.A. Telephone: (301) 552-3251.

their freedom." (In **Tempo**'s own news story on TRI, M. Zaidun of the Surabaya Legal Aid Institute said, "If we want to be honest, the TRI program is similar to forced labor in the colonial period.") (TE)

Central Kalimantan Governor Gatot Amrih S.H. has expressed surprise at press reports that the Tewah gold miners had applied 10 times for people's mining permits but had been paid no attention. He told reporters he could make no promises but he would go there himself to hear the miners' complaints. He also had no objection to a miners' delegation which wanted to come immediately to meet him. About 450 traditional gold miners in Tewah, Kapuas District, have been ordered to cease work and given no alternative. The Governor felt compassion for them. Government policy had to be upheld but they had to have an alternative. (PB)

July 30 (Sat.)

Panda Nababan, then of **Sinar Harapan**, had covered the war in Vietnam and Cambodia before being assigned to cover the outbreaks preceding East Timor's integration into Indonesia. **Jayakarta** interviewed him in his new quarters in the Editorial Board offices of the magazine **Vista**. He said there was nothing interesting in his coverage. He wrote his stories after his return home. His deepest impressions were when **Tempo** Chief Editor Goenawan Mohamad phoned and asked how much he had been paid for an article. Then the Australian Embassy invited him to travel around Australia. ABC asked him about the killing of 5 Australian reporters and what Indonesia had done to the East Timorese people, but he declined to be interviewed. "Our perceptions of independence are far different," he told ABC. They had thought by the travel, nice food, and expensive hotels they could trap him into smearing his own country. He wouldn't leak his secret information. Panda, former Deputy General Manager of **Prioritas**, had been told before going to East Timor by NTT Governor El Tari that the East Timorese people were suffering, but he thought this was all made up. Then he saw Portuguese cruelty for himself. At the time of integration, there were only primary schools in East Timor, whereas in 1920 the Dutch ran a medical school. In Oecusse (Oekusi), he saw the Portuguese colonialists sitting in chairs in church and the Timorese on the floor. Things like this stimulated him to favor integration. (JK)

JULY 31 (SUN.) - Kanjeng Raden Ayu Siti Hatmanti Soemoharyomo, mother of Ibu Tien Soeharto, passed away yesterday morning at the age of 88 after being hospitalized for several days. She was born on January 1, 1900. After mourning in the President's home at Jalan Cendana, her body will be flown by an Air Force Hercules transport plane to Karanganyar for further mourning at her residence in Solo and then burial in the family Mangadeg Mausoleum (Giribangun). President and Ibu Tien Soeharto will be met at the Solo home by Gen. L.B. Moerdani and Gen. Try Soetrisno. Flower sellers in Solo have received so many orders from officials and others in Central Java that additional suuplies have had to be brought in from as far away as Salatiga. The deceased had 11 children, some of whom died at an early age. Among the children were Siti Hartini, Ny. Ir. Martono, Siti Hartinah (Ibu Tien), Ibnu Hartomo, Ibnu Wardoyo, Ibnu Wismoyo, and Ibnu Harjanto. As of 1984 the deceased had 37 grand-children and 20 great-grandchildren. Her husband, Raden Mas Tumenggung Haryo Soemoharyomo, formerly a district chief in the Mangkunegaran, died in 1972. His remains have been disinterred and shifted to the complex at Karanganyar located at the foot of Gunung Luwu, about 30 miles southeast of Solo. His wife will be buried near him and their deceased daughter, Ny. Siti Hartini. The deceased was born R.A. Hatmanti, the 4th of 14 children of Raden Mas Panji Hatmohudojo, an artillery Lieutenant in the Mangkunegaran Legion, and Raden Ayu Susilowati. (PB/JW/KO)

PDI DPR faction Secretary Drs. Markus Wauran told **Jawa Pos** that the replacements for 8 PDI DPR members who will be recalled have not been finalized. "The names circulating now are just reporters' guesses." The PDI Central Leadership Council (DPP) has yet to issue a decision, and the faction has not yet been ordered to submit a recall letter to the DPR leadership. Asked whether replacements would come from claims by OPM spokespersons alleging their own involvement and even speaking of a death toll exceeding 150 people are, we have been assured, quite without foundation." (TA)

AUG. 2 (TUES.) - Gen. (Ret.) Soemitro told **Jawa Pos** that the Indonesian national elite need not be anxious that in 1993 Indonesia will have trouble finding leaders. "Prospective young leaders now are everywhere. They also have a feeling of responsibility for the nation's future." This can be seen from their articles on regeneration. "Just look at these articles in the newspapers. They have begun to be bold and are of high quality." This successor generation grew up in a tight political climate. This is understandable, as development could not be disrupted by instability. But this tightness in political life should not reach the point where it weakens caderization. Now, said, Soemitro, if we want good leaders, the only condition is openness so the competition can be seen among the prospective leaders, positive and free competition among these cadres. (More code.) (JW)

If the defects of forestry businesses in their reclamation and reforestation efforts are not tackled immediately, damage to Central Kalimantan's forests will follow quickly and resemble what has already befallen West and East Kalimantan. Low fertility land in critical condition will increase through all Kalimantan. This is the anxiety felt in various circles of the public, regional government, and Forestry Department as recorded by **Kompas** when accompanying a working party of DPR Commission X to Central Kalimantan for 5 days last week. Besides the felling by concessionaires and shifting cultivators, the Central Kalimantan forest is strewn with mining companies, especially gold miners, who will speed up the process of stripping the land. And this does not even include illegal fellers and unlicensed gold miners. On a national scale, the anxiety about damage to the forest involves not just the environment but a potential crisis in supplying timber for the timber processing companies which have been encouraged since 1985. Some observers are pessimistic that if the cultivation of forest crops (read: tree farms) is not improved, Indonesia will experience a crisis in the area of high quality timber. Reforestation undertaken by concessionaires in Central Kalimantan is very small compared to the creeping damage to the forest there. And reforestation by gold mining companies is almost unheard of given the relative newness of the business. Tree farming is limited to woods reaching maturity in 7-10 years like pine and acacia, the quality of which does not suffice for timber industries. Woods like meranti, keruing, and mengkulang with harvest periods extending beyond 40 years are not being farmed. Many concessionaires are prepared to lose their deposits to reforestation funds—to which payments are already more than half delinquent—rather than reforest. Their concessions also overlap with gold mining areas, transmigration sites, new settlements, and reclassified forest, pretexts they often toss out for absence of reforestation efforts. In Central Kalimantan, except for 1.5 million hectares of forest reserves and protected forest comprising 10% of the province, the entire remaining area of 13.7 million hectares has been allotted to timber concessions and other needs like transmigration and estate sites. Gold mining areas comprising 5 million hectares overlap parts of the allotted hectares. (KO)

Chris Kelana of **Kompas** was not afraid when he was asked to cover the outbreak in East Timor. There his fellow reporters were like friends. To fill their free time, they swam together and had a good time in Atambua. "I remember one beer stall which was always busy." But when he went to Batugade it was very lonely. "Most of the residents were refugees." He and the other reporters slept in barracks. They heard shooting and smelled munitions every night. But there were only stray bullets of which to be frightened. "Frankly, I was confused about the war situation in East Timor because it was unclear who was a friend and who an enemy." "We had trouble sending reports via telex. Occasionally they were censored." "I got familiar with a lot of types of weapons when I was assigned there." (JK) were useless (percuma). PPP was a party of hypocrites (munafik). Don't bother about PDI because its ideology was not ours. What does Farid say about the charges? "The charges of the prosecutor as a whole are correct. But what I have done is not subversion. I don't oppose Pancasila." Farid's legal advisor Wijono said, "The prosecutor has really only blown up small matters." (JW/OD/ED)

AUG 12 (Fri.)

Army Chief of Staff Edy Sudradjat installed Maj. Gen. Sintong Panjaitan as Commander of Kodam IX/Udayana (Bali, West Nusatenggara, East Nusatenggara, and East Timor) replacing Maj. Gen. Joko Pramono who will become Commander of Kodam I/Bukit Barisan (Northern Sumatera). Sintong Panjaitan's last position was Commander of the Infantry Weapons Center in Bandung. Before that, he was Commanding General of the Special Forces Command (Kopassus, Komando Pasukan Khusus, previously called Kopassandha, and before that RPKAD). Sintong became well-known when as a Lieutenant Colonel he successfully led a Kopassandha anti-terrorist unit which exterminated all the hijackers and rescued the hostages in Garuda's DC-9 "Woyla" at Don Muang Airport in Bangkok in March 1981. The Governors of Bali, NTB, NTT, and East Timor attended the installation ceremony. (This is a very clipped biography of one of the Army's "heroes." Sintong, a Protestant Batak born in North Sumatera in 1941, is a 1963 National Military Academy graduate and has attended both Seskoad and Seskogab. His entire military career has been in the Special Forces. He is not known ever to have held a civilian assignment. He became known to Soeharto when he led an RPKAD squad against troops loyal to the 30 September Movement to retake the RRI building. He has extensive combat experience and has fought against the remnants of Kahar Muzakkar's men in Sulawesi, PGRS in West Kalimantan, and OPM in Irian Jaya.) (PB/KO/TE)

After petitioners on East Timor had been heard, the representative of Portugal, Rui Quartin-Santos, told the U.N. Decolonization Committee (in New York) today that East Timor should be opened up to the outside world. If the petitioners' reports and allegations were false, then their alleged falsity could easily be demonstrated. He noted that Portugal's Permanent Mission to the U.N. had circulated as a press release the statement by Cristiano Costa, an East Timorese who had recently left the territory. Portugal as the administering power remains committed to the safeguarding of the right to self-determination and the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the East Timorese. Portugal's sole aim is to bring about the decolonization of East Timor and will take all possible diplomatic efforts to find a solution which takes into consideration the real aims and paramount interests and wishes of the East Timorese and is acceptable to the United Nations. (OD)

Saudi Arabia's Ambassador to Indonesia Shaikh Tal'at Amin Hamdi told reporters that Saudi Arabia fully supported Indonesia to "host" the next Non-Aligned Movement summit. (JW)

AUG. 13 (SAT.) - ABRI Commander Gen. Try Soetrisno told **Jawa Pos** that Golkar now was increasingly autonomous. Any ABRI member by chance elected as a Golkar leader was only there based on need. "That means the ABRI leadership has not asked to sit in the Golkar leadership." So ABRI members' presence in Golkar should not be interpreted in all sorts of ways (macam-macam). "Ya, it's just based on need." ABRI had been there since the days Golkar was called Sekber (Joint Secretariat) Golkar. "But now an ABRI man elected as a Golkar leader has to be pensioned." Wasn't that unfortunate (eman, Javanese)? "There is no term, 'eman.' In Golkar they are also fighting. You are fighting in the field of journalism. It's all the same thing," said General Try, while pounding the shoulders of the **Jawa Pos** reporter. There was no difference in the presence of an ABRI man in any profession. Was it still necessary for ABRI to arrange (menatur) Golkar's Regional Deliberations (Musda)? "I say it's not necessary because Golkar is already autonomous and increasingly mature." Aren't there requests (permintaan) from Golkar to the ABRI Commander on his willingness to let an ABRI member serve in Golkar? "Yes, of course there are what you call 'requests.' But don't misinterpret this to mean that ABRI is interfering in Golkar."